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VOL. IV

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

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HISTORY OF EDUCATION

A Survey of the Development of Educational Theory and Practice in Ancient, Medieval and Modern Times

BY

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To

The Right Reverend

Thomas Joseph Shahan, D.D.

Bishop of Germanicopolis
Rector of the
Catholic University of America

Whose encouragement and scholarly direction through many years the author gratefully acknowledges

This book
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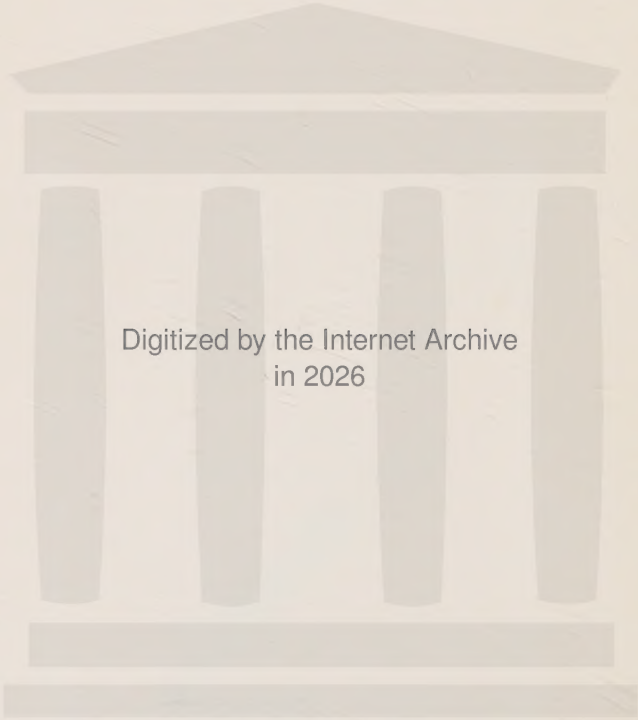
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PREFACE

The Catholic University Pedagogical Series as now projected will include separate volumes on the history of ancient, medieval, and modern education respectively. This book is intended to be an introduction to the Series, and, as such, aims to present a survey of the development of educational theory and practice from ancient times to the present. It aspires to be a practical text-book in the history of education, and while necessarily brief, it is, the author hopes, sufficiently expansive on important movements and details to afford that general view of educational advance and development which is imperative for an understanding of current problems. Its special aim is to meet the needs of the Catholic teacher or student, to give him along with a knowledge of educational history that sympathy with Christian institutions and men, especially in the Middle Ages, which a common faith and spiritual heritage demand, and which contemporary histories of education in English do not tend to foster, and also to enable him properly to estimate those educators and schools whose theological and philosophical tenets are at variance with the teachings of the Church.

A general bibliography and special bibliographies for each chapter have been provided, so that, in addition to the references accompanying the text, there will be afforded ample material for collateral reading.

In preparing his manuscript the author has gone, whenever possible, to original sources or recognized authorities. He has frequently consulted and drawn from *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, *The Cyclopedia of Educa-*

tion, and the histories of education by Davidson, Monroe, Kemp, Graves, Stöckl, Krieg and Bartholome. He acknowledges his indebtedness to these works and to the histories in particular for many ideas in arrangement and presentation. He is deeply grateful to his colleagues in the Department of Education of the Catholic University of America: the Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace who has kindly read all the proofs; the Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Shields and the Rev. Dr. William Turner who have generously advised and directed him on many occasions. To Mr. Joseph Schneider, Assistant Librarian of the Catholic University of America, and Dr. John D. Wolcott, Acting Librarian of the United States Bureau of Education, he expresses sincere thanks for their repeated courtesies and services.

PATRICK J. MCCORMICK.

Washington, D. C.,
January 18, 1915.

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INTRODUCTION

In proportion as the importance of education is more fully understood, a deeper interest is taken in its history. It has not always been the potent factor in life and civilization which it undoubtedly is at present; but in some form and in some measure it has helped to shape the conduct of individuals and the destiny of peoples. It has held a leading place among those agencies which with little pomp or circumstance have swayed the minds of men and which are now receiving more attention from the historian than they did a century ago. If a knowledge of the social, economic, political and religious institutions and movements which have built up the modern world is a part of general culture, a knowledge of the history of education is not of less value.

Usually, however, books on this subject make a special appeal to teachers; and this is quite intelligible, since, as education is the transmission of our spiritual and intellectual heritage, it is only fitting that they who transmit it should know whence it comes and how. They are advised to study each problem in its growth and so to understand its actual meaning. They are induced to trace the development of system and theory and thereby gain a correct perspective. And frequently they are warned that one means of avoiding mistakes is to ponder the rise and fall of meteoric schemes that are no longer known outside the pages of history.

Such an application of the genetic method has obvious advantages; it provides information which every teacher

should possess in order to deal effectually with the present situation and to labor intelligently for the future of education. But there is a further utility which should not be overlooked: history is also the source of inspiration, and if there is any calling in which that source should be ever open and flowing, it surely is the teacher's. He who accepts the office of educator should be imbued with the spirit of the pioneers and the reformers and should be able to appreciate at least the enthusiasm of men like Comenius and La Salle and Pestalozzi. The existence of the school with its constantly increasing facilities has come to be such a matter of course that it is hard to realize what the cost has been in thought and effort expended by individuals, by the teaching Orders, the State and the Church. The operation of the school, moreover, tends at times to become mechanical, and there is need of fresh inspiration to preserve that suppleness of mind which should quicken all teaching. The aims of the school are apt to be obscured by multifarious demands or defeated by influences that are anything but educational; and so it is imperative for the teacher to keep alive, in his own soul at least, that idealism which is the very life of his profession. But even without the pressure of these needs, the true teacher will naturally and spontaneously turn to the past and give heed to its lessons.

For the Catholic teacher the history of education has a special significance. It exhibits a phase of the manifold activity of the Church from which the world has derived inestimable benefit in the material order as well as in the spiritual; and it shows how deeply the modern school is indebted to those who first carried Christianity and civilization to the ends of the earth. It does not, on the other hand, prevent a due appreciation of what has been

accomplished in recent times; it enables one rather to discern the origin and follow the development of what is best in modern education.

The greatest educational achievement in the world's history was the conversion of Europe. Without that, there could have been no beginning, to say nothing of progress, in the arts and sciences, in social and political organization. The missionaries found little time for the discussion of methods; but they had whole tribes in their schools and they led their pupils from grade to grade of civilization. They did not theorize about manual training; they taught the barbarians to work. And while they were not much concerned about articulation or coordination, they took care that what was taught and learned should find its expression in decent living.

While these pioneers strove to eliminate the errors and superstitions of paganism, they preserved and transmitted the finest literary products of the ancient world. The classic texts which made possible the Renaissance and which have played so considerable a part in modern education, would have been lost amid the ruins of the Empire, had they not been treasured by the monks. Without the patient toil of the copyist in the monastery, scholars could not now win fame by preparing critical editions of the Latin and Greek authors, nor would philology have been thought of as a science. Yet, curiously enough, the man who discovers a manuscript in some out of the way corner of a monastery is applauded for the service he renders while the scribe who wrote the manuscript is forgotten.

As regards content, there has been unquestionably a great expansion in modern education beyond the curriculum of the Middle Ages. But in the matter of organiza-

tion, the framework of the medieval system has been retained. Thus in the structure of our universities we find many elements that date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The grouping of faculties, the gradation of instructors, the conferring of degrees and the authorization to teach which these implied are all inherited from the medieval institutions. What is more essential, the assembling of various branches of learning and the spirit of inquiry which resulted from the contact of many eager minds have come down to us from the same period and the same Catholic sources. Nor is elementary education of more recent origin. It is now well established that schools for the people flourished long before the sixteenth century and that they were often maintained out of the revenues of the Church as they were conducted under its auspices.

What stands out most clearly in the history of education is the fact that the Catholic school has always combined religion, morality and intellectual training. This is not surprising as long as we dwell upon the "ages of faith." But it becomes very conspicuous in the course of the modern period. Although the Church has been in large measure deprived of the material means and of the control which it once enjoyed, it has nevertheless insisted that education, to be complete, must include the discipline of the will in right conduct. While the State whose existence depends upon the morality of its citizens, has refused to give moral training to its pupils, the Church, though so often antagonized by the State, has consistently provided that training in its schools and thus laid the foundation of good citizenship.

The Catholic teacher, then, has every reason to take an interest in the history of education both as a source

of information and as a means of quickening his zeal for the work in which he is engaged. The study of this subject will not only furnish him with a key to the complexity of the educational problem at large, but will also enable him to understand the doctrine and the aims of the Catholic Church in regard to the school and its position on many controverted points. He may even be led to the further insight that as religion and education are so closely bound together in all their vicissitudes, the attitude of any institution, whether ecclesiastical or secular, towards the school is a fairly good test of its earnestness in the cause of faith and morality.

In preparing this volume, the author has rendered a service which will be the more highly appreciated because in the English language at least, it has few predecessors if any. While particular phases of the subject have been treated from the Catholic view-point and while excellent monographs on the educational activity of the different teaching orders are available, there has been wanting hitherto a manual which would outline the whole field and place at the teacher's disposal the net results of more detailed research. It is not of course the author's intention that his readers should confine their study to these pages. He has observed in the treatment of the various topics a certain proportion that will open up a correct survey of the field; but the book will attain its chief purpose by suggesting to the student a further inquiry into some of the problems with which the history of education abounds.

EDWARD A. PACE.

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Part I

Ancient Education

CHAPTER I

CHINA

China receives first place in the history of education because of the remarkable antiquity of its educational system. It is the oldest in history, and is of interest and importance not only for its influence on the destiny of the most populous nation in the world, for China comprises one-fifth of the world's population, but also for its unique character. For 2,000 years China has made little progress in education, or in the science of government.

The Great Wall of China, the largest artificial structure on earth, erected in the third century B. C., is an evidence of the early civilization, as well as of the great constructive genius of the Chinese. It points to a characteristic of the nation, an inability to change. It is hard to realize that the inventors of paper, gunpowder, and the first users of the mariner's compass could have remained in a static condition for so many centuries, but this failure to advance is a marked characteristic of the best Mongolians.

Although much of early Chinese history is shrouded in fable, receivable traditions go back to 3,000 years B. C. The names of the dynasties are complete from the third century of the same era. The form of government, a patriarchal despotism, obtained for over 2,000 years. The dynasty (Manchu), which gave way to the present Republic, dated from 1643 A. D.

The emperor, "Heaven's Son," was responsible to heaven alone. He was assisted in administration by four

principal ministers, and below them by a number of assessors who formed a council of state. The government business was executed by seven boards designed for special departments of state control. The surveillance over the empire has always been most effective. The people were governed by a fixed body of laws which were greatly respected by all.

The most common religion in ancient China was ancestor-worship. The higher classes now profess a cult based upon the philosophy of Confucius and Lao-tse; the majority of the people are Buddhists. The introduction of Christianity was attempted by the Nestorians about the sixth century with little permanent success. The work of the Jesuits under Father Matteo Ricci was the first successful endeavor to propagate the Faith there. The Catholics of China now number about 1,000,000, and the Protestants about 256,000, a very small proportion of a population estimated at 426,000,000.

In Chinese literature are preserved some of the world's most ancient historical and philosophical writings. The Five Classics, or the King Books, are the oldest records of the nation. (1) *Shu-king*, the history of the dynasties and the laws; (2) *Y-king*, a work on philosophy and magic; (3) *Shi-king*, the ancient odes, and (4) the *Li-king*, an account of national customs and ceremonial observances. These were revised by Confucius who added to them a history of his own time, (5) *Tshun-tsin*. Lao-tse is author of *Tao-teh-king*, *Book of Reason and Virtue*, which treats of philosophy and theology. A work of pedagogical value is the *Little School* by Tschu-li, of the twelfth century.

The Chinese have a most unwieldy language. It is monosyllabic and has no alphabet. Words now have an ideographic and a phonetic element. The characters, or

symbols are divided into six classes, and can be reduced to 2,425, all of which are to be memorized by students of the language. They are perpendicular in arrangement and are read from top to bottom. The spoken language on account of a natural development through the centuries is vastly different from that of the ancient literature. Writing was practiced 1,740 years B. C., and perhaps as early as 3000 B. C.

Confucius, 551–478 B. C., philosopher and statesman, is the inspiration of the Chinese system of education. Having the greatest reverence for the ideas and customs of the past, he made respect for all that was ancient and ancestral with his country a virtue. He labored as an administrator and teacher for the interests of the united empire. Suspected at one time of political intrigues he was exiled, but later reinstated. After death he was worshipped among the sacred ancestors and benefactors of the nation. One can see from the subject-matter taught in the schools how much his work affected the education of succeeding ages.

Lao-tse, 604–515 B. C., was likewise a philosopher with a very exalted teaching. He held office at the imperial Court of Chow as keeper of the archives. He believed in the freedom of the will and the perfectibility of man, and in the work, *Tao-teh-king*, attributed to him, he endeavored to establish a knowledge of a supreme being in three persons. His ideas were accepted after his death by a class of his countrymen, but later became confused with Buddhism.

Tschu-li, born about 1129 A. D., in a work entitled *The Little School*, expressed many sound educational principles far in advance of the thought of his time. He believed in respecting the natural powers of children, and

using them towards their greater development; he paid particular attention to their physical capabilities. This early work, however, in which one can see much of the spirit of modern education, never affected the Chinese system, for its principles were not adopted.

It has been stated above that in China is found the oldest organized system of education. From earliest times education in some form has existed there, and for 3,000 years it has been a matter of national importance. The Great Shun conducted an examination of his officials as early as 2000 B. C. It is now maintained on legitimate grounds that schools and colleges existed in China 4,000 years ago. These were not state institutions, for China never had a system of national schools, or more strictly speaking, schools supported by the State.

In the second century B. C. a system of competitive examinations was inaugurated for all candidates for civil offices, and the highest positions in the State were thus offered to men of literary attainments. Education which had previously been the privilege of the sons of feudal lords then became the pursuit of the ambitious, as none was barred from the tests. The system was not thoroughly organized until the eighth century A. D.

Education aimed to prepare for the various grades of state examinations. Its basic studies were reading, writing, ceremonial etiquette, mathematics, music, and to a certain degree, dancing. Schools were established by individual enterprise, although the State founded and maintained some institutions. Instruction under private tutors was very general. The teacher received great respect at all times, and was obsequiously obeyed. His method was dogmatic and absolute. Only in recent years has education become compulsory for all children.

The schools, broadly speaking, might be divided into three classes, as they prepared for the degrees offered by the State. The elementary were the most common and were usually conducted by men who had obtained the first degree, "Flowering Talent," designated by many as Bachelor. In them the pupils learned reading, writing and elementary arithmetic. The study of the symbols and characters for the written language made the work for beginners very difficult. The *Four Books* and the *Five Classics* supplied the chief text-books. Three to five years were required to complete this preparatory course for the lowest degree.

The same works of literature with supplementary studies occupied the candidates for the higher degrees. It became necessary for them to be familiar with Chinese history, law, finance, military affairs, agriculture, and to be skillful in composition in the style of the ancients. They were required to reproduce whole selections of prose and poetry, and were always taught to follow their ancestors as their models. It was believed that the works of antiquity could not be improved or ever surpassed.

The gradations of the examinations were so regulated that only those who successfully competed for the degrees were given state positions. Of the thousands who tried for the second degree, "Promoted Scholar," or Master, as it would be termed by us, one in a hundred succeeded. While the two lower examinations were held in various parts of the empire, that for the highest degree, "Fit for Office," a rank similar to that of Doctor, took place in Peking. It lasted thirteen days, and the successful competitors received their appointments, or underwent still further preparation for special services in the government.

A thorough change is now taking place in the state system of education. By an imperial decree issued Sept. 2, 1905, and in effect in 1906, the former program and method of examinations were abolished, and schools were established in accordance with European and American ideas. The curriculum is also undergoing a radical change, and the sciences foremost in western schools are given prominence.

It is certain that the Chinese through experience with the nations of the West have come to recognize the shortcomings of their educational system, and its inadequateness to meet the demands of modern progress. The old system was very serviceable to the State in many respects, the millions of subjects were kept docile and loyal, and the most learned gave their best talents to the public service. The effects, however, such as a formal and external morality, a lack of initiative, an unwillingness to change, unsound and unworthy motives for education, although much deplored, will not be overcome for many generations.

JAPAN

Although Japan was unknown to Europeans before the explorations of Marco Polo about 1280, the history of its education has been traced back to a very early period—the third century of our era. Chinese literature was then introduced, and a method of education pursued almost identical with the Chinese. These differences, however, are to be noted. Only the members of the nobility were instructed, and a knowledge of Japanese history and laws was required. Their study of the national language which was polysyllabic and possessed an alphabet, became less arduous, but curiously enough they produced no great

literary works. School surroundings were also pleasanter for the children.

The Japanese, Mongolians like the Chinese, have been remarkable for their spirit of intellectual progress, and their adaptability to the ideas and customs of other nations. Since the revolution of 1868 they have been more closely in touch with western nations. Their progress as a world power dates from that time. It should be remembered that they are just as exclusive as the Chinese, but they realized sooner that their exclusiveness was a serious hindrance to their advancement among the nations of the world.

A remarkable development of the school system has taken place during the last forty years. All classes, and both sexes are given at least an elementary education. Their secondary schools and universities are growing in number and effectiveness along with many technical and agricultural schools, and institutes for the pursuit of the fine arts. Many of their youth have frequented European and American seats of learning, and have been, perhaps, the most direct agencies in the introduction of western ideas into Japanese educational life. Interest then in Japanese education centers mostly in its present progressive condition rather than its historical development.

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CHAPTER II

EGYPT

The results of historical research have located in Egypt the oldest civilization known to man. It antedates China, and in all antiquity holds the preeminence for science and culture. Egypt would be the first subject of study in the history of education if with this early progress in the arts and sciences it had organized a system of education. China, as has been seen, enjoyed that distinction.

The form of government was a monarchy whose ruler claimed supreme authority in all civil and religious affairs. The long line of Pharaohs or monarchs can be traced back to 3400 B. C. The State received effectual support from a large and powerful priesthood, and from it drew many of the important executive officials.

The people were divided into classes, which although not as rigid as the castes of India remained nevertheless exclusive. The highest was the priestly, which with the military or warrior class constituted the privileged element of the nation. All below them, such as the farmers and boatmen, the mechanics and tradesmen, the herdsmen and fishermen, enjoyed no privileges, but were protected by laws and long-standing customs.[1]

Some maintain that the priestly class was not strictly hereditary, since the scribes were often admitted into it; but at any rate its members could not marry into a lower rank of society. The warriors were not so restricted.

[1] Laurie, S. S. *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, 33. New York, 1907.

The social position of women was higher than in most Oriental nations. They could even ascend the throne, and as is commonly known, some actually did.

In the arts and sciences a very high point of development was reached thousands of years before Christ. As weavers the Egyptians were unexcelled in antiquity, and their work in coloring glass has never been surpassed even in modern times. All know of the wonderful process of embalming human bodies, and the magnificent stone structures erected as mausoleums for the dead. The annual inundation of the Nile aroused and developed a notable genius for engineering and irrigation.

Egyptian literature is remarkable for its great antiquity, its copiousness, and its varied character. It contains the oldest book in the world, viz.: *Ptah-hetep*, a mine of counsels and proverbs, believed to have been written about 3600 B. C.: it abounds in poems, works on law, medicine, mathematics, rhetoric and religion, and even has a few novels. It is not remarkable, however, for literary excellence. *The Book of the Dead*, a treatise on death and the rites of sepulture, contains much of religious doctrine, and is in reality the Bible of the Egyptians and their code of morality. The virtues of justice, honesty, truthfulness, charity, economy, and obedience to authority are inculcated by it.

In religious thought the Egyptians were the most advanced of all Oriental peoples, save the Hebrews. Their highest conceptions were for the most part unknown to the people of the lower classes. The cultured few, and particularly the priests, believed in the existence of one God, Creator and Ruler of the universe; the ignorant worshipped local gods according to the devotion of their temples. The Sun and the Nile were adored, and many of

the lower animals venerated either as deities or as their symbols. There was, however, a firm belief in the immortality of the soul and rehabilitation of the body after death. The god Osiris rewarded the good in the next world by returning them to the God of Light, and punished the wicked according to the evil nature of their lives. The burial of the dead was surrounded with solemn religious ceremonies which could be given only to those who had lived virtuously. The bodies underwent the process of embalming that they might endure to the time of their reoccupation after thousands of years. This veneration for the dead inspired the construction of the pyramids, the tombs of their rulers, and the other enormous sepulchres which remain to the present and are numbered among the most wonderful monuments in the world.

The State provided no system of education for all. Elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic could be easily obtained in private schools or by tutoring under special teachers. A favorite pursuit of ambitious boys of the lower classes was to prepare under these tutors for the occupation of a scribe, or copyist. The position itself gave standing in the community, and offered opportunity to rise to the highest places in the government. The scribe, besides receiving a good elementary training, became familiar with the current commercial and legal formulas, and took an advanced course in mathematics. He at first learned to use the ordinary form of writing, the demotic, later with his rise to more important offices, the hieratic, or that used in the sacred writings, and finally the hieroglyphic or ideographic.

The central temple schools and those attached to the provincial courts conducted the higher education for the

professions. The teachers were priests, and usually high officials. The scribes frequently entered to become physicians and architects.

The education of the Egyptians reached its climax in the training of the priests. Naturally their chief study embraced everything connected with their religion: its doctrinal and moral teaching, the rites and ceremonies. It also included a wide range of learning in astronomy, astrology, mathematics, law, and rhetoric. As mentioned above, they prepared also for the professions, were the architects, physicians, administrators, and for centuries, leaders of every phase of development in Egyptian civilization.

Although the Egyptians attained to a high degree of civilization and culture, and far surpassed the other nations of antiquity, there was no universal education, or systematic effort made by the State to instruct the lower classes of society. A certain education in the broad sense was provided by the great works in art and architecture, and by the state religion. But their religion, purely spiritual as it may have been among the priests and cultured classes, amounted among the illiterate to a base superstition, a worship of the sacred animals, idols, etc. There is no doubt, however, that the learning for which the Egyptians were justly famed perceptibly affected the culture and science of the Hebrews and the great nations of the classic period.

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CHAPTER III

INDIA

Since the time of Confucius, education in China has been accessible to all classes. It might therefore be characterized as democratic. Ancient Japanese education was, on the contrary, aristocratic. In India, where a peculiar condition of society existed, education was restricted to certain classes. The people there were divided into castes, and only those of the higher castes received a literary education. Advanced education was the right of the highest caste.

The caste system originated about 1200 B. C. or 1000 B. C. and, although many subdivisions have appeared during the ages, four ancient and principal castes form the main divisions in society: (1) Brahmans, the priests and teachers; (2) Shatryas, the warriors and rulers; (3) Vaisyas, the merchants and traders; (4) Sudras, the artisans and laborers. All castes being hereditary, a man was born to his state in society and could not rise above it. The Sudras, or laboring classes, and the women, excepting those in the service of the temple, were denied the advantages of education.

The inhabitants of ancient India, or Hindustan, were Aryans, whose language, Sanskrit, is the oldest form of Aryan speech. In their literature are preserved manuscripts of incalculable value to the student of ethnology, ancient history, and Scripture. Their country has been a land of contention among powerful nations from early

antiquity. Since the conquest of Alexander the Great, Greeks, Scythians, Portuguese, Dutch and British have ruled it, and like the Mohammedans, conquerors of northern India in the thirteenth century, all have left their impress upon it.

A view of the religion of India is necessary for a fair conception of its educational ideals, for with the Hindus religion pervades and informs the nature and extent of education, just as it largely determines everything else in their national life.

Two-thirds of the people practice Brahmanism; about one-fourth are Mohammedans, and the rest are Buddhists or Christians. Brahmanism dates from 1200 B. C. It was greatly affected by the nature-worship and Deism of the original inhabitants of India, and also by Buddhism, introduced about 550 B. C. In the leading religion, Brahma is worshipped as the Universal God and Creator, with Vishnu, the Preserver, and Siva, the Destroyer, who are other forms of the deity. With lofty philosophical ideas go many pantheistic conceptions which encourage a base superstition among the illiterate. God is seen and worshipped in the heavenly bodies, in the earth, and in living creatures such as the cow, the ape, and the parrot.

The supreme Spirit is an impersonal existence, from which all being springs and to which it eventually returns. The souls of the worthy return to Brahma after death, the unworthy must resume life in some of the lower forms. They are doomed to this process until they acquire a perfection necessary for absorption in Brahma. The way to this perfect state is by penance and prayer, and not through externals. Since God is a quiescent and inactive being the highest preparation for absorption in him is a life of contemplation and prayer. In consequence

monasteries for the ascetics and contemplatives have always been in operation in all parts of India.

The earliest schools were attached to the court. The Brahmans there taught the sacred hymns, the practises of religion and their national tradition. Later schools were conducted in the open air, beneath shady trees, except in bad weather when shelter was necessary. The Pharishads, or collegiate institutions of learning, have been in existence since 1000 B. C. The higher instruction in philosophy, theology, and law was offered to the two leading castes. The Brahmans trained older pupils to act as their assistants. It was this custom that suggested the monitorial system introduced in England by Dr. Andrew Bell (1753–1832).[1]

At first, elementary education meant a course in reading, and the learning of the Vedas, or sacred writings, from oral teaching. Writing and arithmetic entered into the curriculum of these schools which were open to all classes except the lowest.

The military and ruling class received training in martial discipline, the laws, traditions and customs, and frequently attended the advanced schools with the Brahmans. The merchants and members of the third class learned what pertained to the commercial interests of the time; they were able to read, write, and calculate, and it is believed were instructed in legendary lore.

The higher schools, attended chiefly by the Brahmans, but also by the second class, were far advanced in the sciences. The teachers were not only learned in their own extensive literature, but they wrote much on mathematics and astronomy. The Vedas, or sacred writings,

[1] Cf. page 376.

were composed before 1000 B. C. It is believed that the Hindus were in possession of the so-called Arabic system of numeration before the Arabs themselves.

Since 1859 the British have established government schools for the instruction of all classes and both sexes, and normal schools for teachers.

The spirit of their leading religion, Brahmanism, which sees nothing good in life, and rather teaches its passive endurance as a necessary evil to prepare for annihilation after death, thwarts all energy to advancement in science and in life. Hindu education has not changed much in centuries. It is of interest to the student of educational history because of its exemplification of the caste system, as informed and largely determined by the state religion.

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CHAPTER IV

PERSIA

One of the finest types of the Aryan race settled in Media and Persia. It developed into a more warlike and active people than the Hindus. The Medes were established as a ruling power about 800 B. C. They were conquered in 558 B. C. by the Persians under Cyrus the Great, who brought all Asia Minor under Persian domination. Other Persian conquerors after Cyrus like Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes subjected Lydia, Babylonia, Scythia, Egypt, and some of the Greek possessions, building an empire which lasted until the invasion of Alexander the Great in 331 B. C.

The Persians displayed a great genius for government and control of conquered peoples. The Great King was represented in the foreign possessions by the satraps, who collected the tribute, and raised the auxiliaries in time of war. Although the rule was a rigid despotism, the tributary nations enjoyed real autonomy and freedom in the administration of home affairs.

The education of Persian youth reflects this warlike spirit, just as it portrays the religious life during the period of Persian supremacy. The national religion was Zoroastrianism, so called from its first exponent Zoroaster (Zarathustra) who lived in the seventh or early part of the sixth century before Christ. Its doctrines were contained in the sacred books *Zend-Avesta*, and were taught by the Magi, the hereditary priests. The fundamental belief is in the existence of Ormazd, supreme

creator and sustainer of the universe, to whom all good in the physical and the spiritual order is attributed. Evil is the work of Ahriman, the spirit of wickedness, who arose out of the conflict of the forces of good and evil at creation. He is inferior to Ormazd, and will be finally subdued. Man contending against evil in the world and all spiritual and physical ills, is in constant conflict with Ahriman. Ormazd rewards with immortality his faithful warriors. In practise this religion was free from idolatry, and encouraged the virtues of truthfulness, honesty, fidelity, and all that befitted the farmer, warrior and ruler.

Elementary education aimed at producing devoted sons in the family, and able warriors in the State. It began in the fifth year, when the boy was placed under the tutelage of a member of the court, usually a man of tried reputation, who could be trusted to teach not less by example than by precept. A ten years' training, mostly physical, but which also included religious instruction given by the priest, prepared the boy for a life of usefulness as a servant of the State. An interesting description of this phase of Persian education, more romantic perhaps than historical, may be found in Xenophon's *Cyropaedeia*, or *Education of Cyrus*.

The noblest adornments of the hardy soldier were the virtues. Obedience, truthfulness, justice, and gratitude must accompany courage, skill and martial acquirements. In conjunction with the Persian conception of man's destiny and individual responsibility, it would seem that nothing was neglected to accomplish the perfect training of the dutiful son of the State.

The higher education, confined to the nobles and hereditary priests, embraced astronomy, mathematics, philosophy, and religious literature. Much is written of the

learning of the priestly class, the Magi, and undoubtedly what is attributed to them in regard to their accomplishments in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and finance, is substantially true. Judging from the body of sacred writings, with which they were supposedly familiar, their literary knowledge was extensive.

The educational system made no provision for the training of woman, although Persian society gave her a much higher standing than she had in most Oriental nations. It produced the intrepid warrior, physically able to endure all the hardships of war, skilled in the use of weapons, and in the management of horses, having also a careful moral training in the natural virtues of obedience, gratitude, and truthfulness. The masses of the people were not educated. The ruling classes, clerical and lay, were well prepared for their special functions, but with civil rulers lacking in literary culture or tastes Persia was unable to sustain the ravages of peace. Like all warlike nations she was "nourished in war and wasted in peace." In the time of triumph the immense wealth acquired by conquest and expansion brought luxury, sensuality, and indolence, and sapped the strength of the warrior class. The empire, undermined at its foundations, fell a victim to Alexander the Great, at the battle of Arbela, 331 B. C.

Persia has furnished an example of state education, a system capable of promoting the growth and expansion of a conquering people, but incapable of building up an intellectually strong race, or giving permanence and vigor to the institutions it had fostered.

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CHAPTER V

SEMITIC PEOPLES

The people of Israel have many claims to a prominent place in the history of education before the time of Christ. They were the highest branch of the Semites in point of morality and religion, and they surpassed the other nations of antiquity in their lofty idea of government, and in their appreciation of the individual in society.

Their many vicissitudes as a nation brought them under the influence of surrounding peoples, and left deep impressions on their culture and civilization. Some of the results of their long servitude under the Egyptian Pharaohs have already been indicated. It is important now to note a few salient characteristics of the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Phoenicians, other historical representatives of the Semites, in order to obtain a fuller view of Hebrew learning and education.

Babylonians

The Chaldeans, or early Babylonians, were from 2000 to 1000 B. C. the foremost people of western Asia. With them the art of writing in hieroglyphic form was early developed. The remains of their monuments and tombs disclose evidence of an advanced knowledge of architecture and great skill in engineering and the mechanical arts. They adapted to practical uses their mathematical and astronomical learning, invented a system of weights and measures which has been the basis of all modern

systems, mapped out the zodiac, and arranged the names of the days of the week. In their large cities they had immense libraries which were open to all.

Education was restricted to the priestly class and the higher laity. The scribe, a character similar in training and occupation to the Egyptian scribe, is found there also. He did not hold so high a position either in the State or in society. The youth of the highest or noble class received their education at the royal palace, under the direction of the king. No literary education for all classes was provided by the State. Little is known at present of the exact nature of their schools, teachers or methods of instruction, but of the superior attainments of the learned class in art, literature, and science, and of the high order of their technical instruction there can be no doubt. Under the later Babylonian Empire the philosophers and priests of the court still retained the name of Chaldeans. They are frequently mentioned in the prophecy of Daniel.

It is well to note that Abraham, the Father of the Jews as a nation, was called from his birthplace, Ur in Chaldea, about 2100 B. C., and that the captivity of the Jews took place under the later Babylonian Empire, 625–538 B. C.

Assyrians

The Chaldean philosophers were also the most learned class in ancient Assyria. From this fact it is concluded that the Assyrians never advanced further than the Babylonians in education, or in science. They are accredited with a superior genius in architecture, painting, and sculpture. They were a more warlike people; indeed, their almost innumerable wars are thought to have prevented their advance in learning. The training of youth

consisted of practical instruction for military service and in such arts and sciences as were required for their great engineering and industrial works. In times of peace they cultivated the fine arts, and had really wonderful libraries to encourage devotion to their god of letters.

Phoenicians

Another Semitic people whose history is connected with the Hebrews, and who were the foremost traders and colonizers of antiquity, were the Phoenicians. They controlled the world's trade between the eleventh and sixth centuries B. C. Tyre and Sidon were their chief cities, the latter being the more ancient. Phoenicia had no general government. The separate cities were ruled by judges or chiefs, and a commercial aristocracy.

Colonies were established by them on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean Sea as far west as Spain, and their trading vessels sailed even to Great Britain. In fact they traded by sea and land with all parts of the known world. They were also manufacturers, notable workers in wood and metals, miners and ship-builders. Scripture mentions them as workers on the Temple of Jerusalem. To them are attributed the invention of symbols for numbers and the formation of the alphabet for the Western World.

The Phoenicians had no literature and in their national life were influenced by no spiritual or moral ideas. Their religion was a nature-worship, the adoration of the sun, moon and planets, and in practice admitted the basest abuses. A sensuous, immoral, and cruel people, they possessed no religious or intellectual safeguards against the dangers to their national life which commercial suc-

cess and prosperity had brought. Their training of youth for a career in practical affairs, with the sole aim of accumulating wealth and earthly power without other ennobling and elevating influences, while receiving notice in the history of education, deserves little commendation. Its shortcomings are apparent to all.

Hebrews

The Hebrews lived under the theocratic form of government, recognizing God as king, lawgiver, and preserver of their nation. Although they were ruled by men at various epochs in their history, Jehovah ever remained their Supreme and Almighty King—the judges, kings, priests, and prophets being only His visible representatives on earth.

As their main religious belief in the existence of one God, the Creator and Conserver of the universe, inspired their form of government, so it dominated everything else in their national and domestic life. It was so closely associated with their national spirit that to be patriotic meant also to be devoutly religious, the two ideas of religion and patriotism being inseparable. No nation in ancient times had so exalted an idea of temporal government; none surely gave woman so high a position in the family or the family so important a place in the State; none had the means they employed to cultivate the spirit of individualism either in public or in private life.

Jewish history before the time of Christ may be divided into four periods corresponding to the most important political changes: 1. The Patriarchal period, from the call of Abraham, the first ancestor of the Jews as a nation, to Moses, the Lawgiver; 2. the Tribal period, from

Moses to the monarchy; 3. the Royal period, from the institution of the monarchy under Saul to the Babylonian Captivity; 4. The Restoration, from the Babylonian Captivity to the time of Christ.

During the first and second historical periods education principally consisted in oral instruction obtained in the home. Parents were obliged to instruct their children in the divine law. (Deut. vi, 5–9 [1].) There must have been some literary instruction, for the admonition presumes that many could read. Higher education was then confined to the priests. Their studies embraced astronomy, national history, and the divine law.

The Schools of the Prophets, in which young men prepared for the prophetical mission, came into existence about the time of Samuel. [2] They flourished in many places during the royal period. An elderly prophet, who acted as a president or master, ruled these institutions somewhat after the manner of our religious communities. All the students, who were not necessarily levites, lived together. Their first studies were sacred theology, law and tradition. They also learned astronomy, mathematics, Jewish history, music and poetry. Much time was devoted to prayer and recollection.

While the elementary training of the masses still continued to be domestic, the work of these "sons of the prophets" presumes that the audiences they addressed

[1] 5. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole strength. 6. And these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thy heart: 7. And thou shalt tell them to thy children, and thou shalt meditate upon them sitting in thy house, and walking on thy journey, sleeping and rising. 8. And thou shalt bind them as a sign on thy hand, and they shall be and shall move between thy eyes. 9. And thou shalt write them in the entry, and on the doors of thy house."

[2] Gigot. *Outlines of Jewish History*, 175. New York, 1897.

had a good knowledge of their religion and sacred tradition; and the existence of the written prophecies presumes also that many besides the priests could read them. The fact too that the candidates for the office of prophet were often taken from the ranks of the people evidences a fairly wide extent of literary education.

The Scribes, who were originally copyists, later became interpreters of the law, and, in a broad sense, the teachers of the people. They arose as the successors of the "sons of the prophets" during the period of the Babylonian Captivity. Although they constituted a lay order, priests and levites were not excluded from them. Esdras was both priest and scribe. They taught the people on the porches of the Temple, and in the synagogues. In later times they established high schools, and taught, besides the Hebrew language, law and religion, a considerable amount of astronomy, and higher mathematics, and in the third century before Christ offered courses in Greek literature and philosophy. The directors of these schools were the Rabbins, or masters. The synagogue was instituted under Esdras during the Babylonian Captivity. Although essentially a religious institution for the people in exile, it also served educational purposes. Every considerable community of Jews had one, and in the second century B. C. they were established even in the villages. Here the scribe was the official teacher. Here the law was read and expounded on the Sabbath, and religious exercises of prayer conducted. An attendant of the synagogue taught the children during the week, there being two divisions for their accommodation: one for those under ten years of age, and a higher for those between the ages of ten and fifteen.

In addition to reading and writing the children were instructed in the Talmud, and in oral tradition. Boys

who prepared for the office of scribe learned mathematics, law, history, music and poetry. That the teacher was accorded great authority appears from the maxim: "The voice of the Rabbi, the voice of God." His discipline was severe, his method principally catechetical, and with the older pupils, disputatory. In the absence of books the memory was of necessity heavily burdened.

The Hebrew language is regarded as the richest of all Semitic tongues in the value and antiquity of its literary remains. The Bible is the gift of the Hebrews to mankind. Inestimable for its worth in respect to the history of the Hebrews and all Oriental nations, abounding in literary treasures, it is for Christians the inspired account of God's dealings with men and cherished as the greatest book of all time. The Talmud, or the law with its interpretation and commentary, has obviously been of real educational value not merely to the Hebrews who taught it in their schools, but to all students of the Scriptures.

History commends the Hebrews more for the content than for the method of their education. While they held the most sublime of religious truths, and were directed by them in their public and private life, they became too much attached to the form and the letter, to the written law and the external rite, and in their system of government and in their education lost sight of the spirit of the truths confided to them. They produced no great works of art or science, and their achievements as a nation were insignificant. However, with all their shortcomings and narrowness, with their formalism and externalism in religion, and their failures as a nation, they have been the benefactors of all ages in demonstrating the marked influence on a people of a theocratic form of government, and in preserving and conveying to pos-

terity that deposit of moral and spiritual truth which in the form of Christianity was to leaven the world.

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CHAPTER VI

GREEK EDUCATION

The people of Ancient Greece were originally called Hellenes, and their country Hellas. In fact the name Greece comes to us from the Romans, and was almost unknown to the people we call Greeks. Their country comprised the peninsula now bearing the name together with colonies established on the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean and neighboring seas.

Our ideas of early Greek civilization are obtained from the Homeric poems, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which are supposed to have been written about 1000 B. C. Educational history really antedates these works, for they presume a high civilization, but there are no documents or historical remains to throw light upon it.

During these ancient times, the heroic age, the government was that of a hereditary kingdom, and education was of a domestic nature. Society consisted of an aristocracy, a middle class, and slaves; the aristocracy embraced the landowners and proprietors; the second class included the artisans, surgeons, and workmen. Children were educated according to the requirements of their class in society. Naturally those of the highest ranks received the best education, which then meant training in music and the art of war. Female education, however, was strictly domestic in character—the girls receiving in the home their preparation for the duties of housewife and mother. The position of woman was much better than in later epochs. Polygamy, for instance, was not allowed.

Even at this time, the beginning of their authentic history, the Hellenes were divided into four distinct branches; the Dorians, Æolians, Ionians, and Achaeans. They frequently engaged in war even before the rise of the city states. The same marked differences in character and civilization and the same antagonism that are so prominent in their later history were then noticeable. The two states of whose educational history most is known, and which represent the most characteristic forms of Greek life and education, were Sparta and Athens. They will be taken here as the types of national education for the early historic period, and as the highest concrete forms which the Greek theory of education then enjoyed. For the theory, the ideal in its loftiest conception which never saw its full realization in ancient times, the views of Grecian philosophers and educational theorists will be investigated.

Sparta

The Spartans represent the Dorian family in its highest development. They were conquerors of Laconia, and lived in Sparta, the chief city. The original inhabitants, the Perioeci and Helots (both old Achaean inhabitants), they held under a rigid military rule. Only the Spartans were given the rights of citizenship. The Perioeci, while freemen, landowners, traders, and artisans, were obliged to pay heavy tax to the Spartans. Whatever education they had was procured by themselves. The slaves or Helots had no rights; they were the tillers of the soil, the drudges of their conquerors, and were often subjected to the direst cruelties, even death, by their rulers.

The Spartans while living in a sort of democracy among themselves, formed an aristocratic class in relation to

their subjects. The government assumed the form of a republic from one point of view and of a monarchy from another. There were two kings, and two assemblies of citizens, and in the assemblies lay the chief ruling power of the nation. The higher assembly, or senate, had twenty-eight members all of whom were over sixty years of age and occupied their seats for life. The popular body, to which any citizen over thirty years of age was eligible for election, actually delegated its power to five overseers or Ephors. The Spartan policy was to maintain warlike supremacy over the subject population.

The system of education dates from Lycurgus, the Law-giver, who flourished about 820 B. C. Its aim at all times was to prepare children for their place in the State, the boy for citizenship, and military service, and the girl for her office as wife and mother in the family. The State owned the child from the moment of its birth. It claimed and exercised the right of determining whether infants should live. A council of elders decided the fate of the weak and delicate, usually condemning them to death by starvation or exposure.

Seven years were allowed for the home training of the boys. They were then admitted into the state institutions to be educated under the direction of the Paedonomus, a superintendent of education. Here they became children of the larger family, the State; they lived together, shared the same food, and sleeping apartments, dressed alike, in short, they had all things in common, for everything belonged to the State. They were scantily clothed, and were allowed only a limited portion of food. Their beds consisted of the tops of weeds gathered from the fields. Nothing that did not conduce to the training of the hardy warrior could be admitted into their preparation.

The literary side of their education was far overshadowed by the prominence accorded to military and physical training. Reading and writing could not be learned at the state schools except by private instruction. Selections from the Homeric poems, the national songs, were committed to memory more from a patriotic spirit than from a devotion to literature or to music. The martial idea was the guiding spirit here as in the rest of the training, and the song served only as a means of arousing and inspiring it. Singing also entered into the course of physical training. Just there in the physical training we see the chief educational efforts of the Spartans. Everything that could promote bodily strength and endurance, such as exercises in running, jumping, swimming, wrestling, dancing, and singing, exposure to heat and cold, privation of food and clothing, in short, all that would prepare the boy to endure the hardships of a soldier in actual service the experienced warriors included in the process of training. At table where the elders presided, or on the street, the conversation was directed to a discussion of warlike affairs, and questions were proposed to test and train the boys in judgment and appreciation of the problems that would confront the general on the field. The Spartan spoke briefly and to the point; hence originated the use of the phrase, "to speak laconically."

A certain moral training accompanied these exercises. Respect and reverence for their superiors, obedience, and truthfulness were taught in a very practical way. It was not deemed unbecoming, however, to lie to others who were not Spartans, nor to permit boys to steal when not satisfied with their food. Indeed they were often encouraged to pilfer; if detected, however, they were punished for their want of deftness, or cunning. To show the

baseness of drunkenness the slaves were often made drunk. The latter provided a means for training in cruelty also, for when it was considered necessary to keep down their numbers the youth were allowed to murder them.

The discipline, as we can well suppose, was severe; punishments by blows and flogging being frequently inflicted by the elders at all stages of the boy's training, even after his eighteenth year when he entered the class of Ephebi or youths. During his special military training, when he acted as instructor of the younger boys, the discipline was also rigid. This period lasted two years. At twenty the youth entered the class of Mellirens, or older youth, and at thirty he became a Spartan citizen or warrior.

The Spartan system of education was socialistic and utilitarian, designed solely for the benefit of the State and not for the individual. The boy was systematically trained for his place as the defender of the nation, and the girl for the office of mother to give new warriors to her country. Such a system in a despotic socialistic state was successful in achieving its purpose for it produced a nation of warriors able to defend the home and ready for conquest abroad, but it could not go further, and when that rigor of training ceased, and the conqueror appeared, it was bound to disappear with the nation itself. It incorporated no religious teaching nor sound moral training, and it made no provision for the pursuit of the arts and sciences. The all absorbing and pervading spirit of patriotism and devotion to the State which dominated everything, could not supply for the elements in training which develop character and strength of mind in the individual, and in the social body, and upon which the real stability of a nation depends.

Athens

The Athenians were not only the flower of the Ionians but the most notable of all the Greek peoples for political ascendency and educational achievement. They gave the world the first example of a democracy, and they surpassed both in theory and practice the best educational efforts that had till then been made.

They were at first ruled by a king, whose title was changed in the tenth century B. C. to that of Archon (Ruler), although the office still remained in the same family. His power had passed, however, to a general assembly which was controlled by the nobles. Later the Archon was elected by the general assembly for a period of ten years, and later still when the number of Archons had increased to nine, the period of office was reduced to one year. The constitution of Solon gave the right of voting to all citizens. After the reign of the tyrants, about 507 B. C., Athens became under Cleisthenes a pure democracy, and as such rose to be the chief of the Ionian states.[1]

Education was not a rigid state system as in Sparta, but was conducted by individuals. The State had some general regulations affecting education, but it in no way undertook to provide a system of instruction. Since the time of Solon, the Law-giver, 594 B. C., a certain supervision and control had been exercised, although the State did not own the schools. Solon had decreed that every boy should be taught a useful occupation; he regulated the hours of the school day, the requirements of the teacher, his age, etc., the number of children under his care, and he introduced the study of Homer into the Athenian schools.

[1] Previous to this time, only about one-tenth of the population enjoyed citizenship. Slaves and workmen were excluded.

The Athenian ideal of education was the aesthetic—a cultured soul in a graceful and symmetrical body. Through a harmonious physical, intellectual and moral development was to be produced the perfect man: the soldier, prepared to defend the State in time of war, and the citizen, able to add to the culture of the nation by the pursuit of the beautiful in time of peace. The obligation of educating the child rested upon the parents.

Those undergoing elementary training spent the day between the Palaestra, or gymnasium, and the Didaskaleion, or music school. In the former, boys were drilled in all kinds of athletic exercises, including throwing the discus and casting the javelin, wrestling, running, dancing, swimming; all of which, combined with frequent bathing and anointing the body, produced that grace and beauty of form for which the Greeks have never been surpassed. Music, a term of much wider significance with the Greeks than with the modern world, included literary and moral instruction. In this elementary school reading, writing and arithmetic were taught besides the patriotic songs and the great epic poems. The pedagogue, or slave, who accompanied the boy to school and was his mentor outside school hours, placed his charge under the care of the special teachers at the different schools. He was not a teacher, nor a tutor in our sense, but rather a guardian. The gymnastic drill, the lessons in music and in letters were conducted by special teachers or instructors.

As the teachers were supported by fees from their pupils, only the well-paid could furnish schoolrooms for their classes. The teachers of the poor held their sessions in the open air, usually in the shelter of public buildings, such as the temples, or in quiet streets. The hours of the

school day were long, lasting from early morning, with a short respite for breakfast, for a period of six hours.

It is interesting to note that in teaching reading the Greeks followed the synthetic method which has been the traditional one even in modern times. The letters of the alphabet were first taught, then the syllables, and finally the words. In the absence of printed books dictation became, of necessity, a frequent practice by the teacher. Writing exercises first began in the sand, and continued on wax tablets. The abacus was used in teaching the first steps in numeration. Letters were the symbols used to designate numbers, and for this reason the early work in arithmetic was rendered difficult. Some knowledge of geography was obtained from their study of the *Iliad*, and other historical poems. Selected poems were committed to memory and recited with musical accompaniment. They served as models of composition, and the sources of lessons in morality and in patriotism. Besides Homer were also used Hesiod, Theognis, Aesop, and anthologies.

Secondary schools take definite form about the middle of the fourth century B. C. While poor boys after an elementary training would become the apprentices of the artisans, the rich continued to study until their reception as ephebi. Drawing, geometry, geography, and grammar in more extended courses were then provided in conjunction with a more elaborate training in gymnastics. These schools were originally higher institutions on the same plan as the Palaestra, but they developed into advanced schools in music, mathematics, and philosophy. Two of them, the Academy and the Lyceum, have been immortalized by the great teachers, Plato,

and his disciple Aristotle, who were respectively associated with them.

In the higher schools physical exercises were of a severer nature than in the Palaestra. State officials were the instructors and the institutions were at times owned by the State. Their purpose appears to have been to adapt the physical education more thoroughly to the final period of preparation of the youth for citizenship. In the nineteenth year the boys entered upon this preparation. They were then known as ephebi, or youths. They served the State during this period by garrison and police duty, and were under a rigid military discipline. At the end of two years they were presented to the Assembly, and were enrolled as citizens. In presence of the elders they solemnly swore to be faithful to the laws and traditions of the State, never to be deserters, to be ever ready to fight for Attica, and to promote the national interest by individual culture and personal enterprise.

Every human ideal was deified by the Athenian. The god of power, creator of all, was called Zeus or Jupiter. Below him were the goddesses of love, of wisdom, of music, of beauty, and of every perfection and every passion also that the mind could conceive. A knowledge of the gods, as well as their cult, entered into education even from the beginning. Boys paid homage to Hermes in the Palaestra, and to the Muses in the Didaskaleion. There does not appear to have been any course of instruction in religion during the primary or the secondary period. The literary studies, however, abounding in references to the gods, would necessarily require some religious instruction.

Moral training was to begin in the home and to continue throughout the whole school period. Seeking the

beautiful intellectually and striving for perfection physically were believed to have a moral effect on the child. The duties of the pedagogue lay chiefly in supervising his conduct and guarding his morality. All of the teachers, in fact, were charged with the special care of forming the virtuous man by precept and example.

Old Athenian education could not be termed a state system, since the State merely exercised supervision over the work of individual schools. Although the highest form of education the world had yet seen, and the inspiration, and in many things the basis of learning in all succeeding ages, it was not complete. It lacked stability for a lasting system even from a national viewpoint, since it emphasized and made foremost the individual without defining sufficiently his relation to the State; it also failed to provide a solid foundation for the teaching and practice of morality.

At the close of this early period of Greek education the schools of the philosophers arose, and henceforth while the elementary and secondary education remained unchanged, the higher passed through many remarkable phases of development under the influence of some of the world's greatest philosophers and teachers. The first in the order of time was that of Pythagoras, 580–510 B. C., a native of the island of Samos. His school at Crotona, in Southern Italy, then a Greek colony, resembled the Spartan system in its organization and the Athenian in its general culture and method of study. Its influence was felt long after the death of its founder, for the Pythagoreans numbered many adherents, and both by teaching and writing widely disseminated their doctrines.

Pythagoras, although an Ionic Greek, was not entirely

the product of Greek education. He had traveled and studied, it is said, in Persia, India, and Egypt, and never overcame the influence of Oriental and Egyptian learning. He left no writings; all that is known of him comes to posterity from his disciples. Many modern scholars believe that the views of these disciples and their successors have been erroneously attributed to Pythagoras. It has been asserted that about no other philosopher or philosophical school has there been associated more tradition of a legendary nature. Pythagoras was always held in the highest reverence by his followers and his word for any doctrine gave it indisputable authority. Discourses or written themes were constantly prefaced by a quotation from the Master—the Ipse Dixit (He himself said it), which was sufficient to lend weight and support in a time when it was difficult to prove the authenticity of a statement, or the veracity of an author.

The higher concepts of the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, retribution in the future life, and the doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls into the lower animals, are attributed to him. At any rate it can be seen that he found in religion a solid sanction for the excellent moral principles he inculcated. For him God was the ruler of the universe to whom all nature paid the homage of obedience by harmonious activity. The "harmony of the spheres" was the inspiring keynote of his teaching, and discovering nature's harmony he strove to bring men into harmony with truth. The means he adopted were knowledge, music, gymnastics, and the practice of asceticism.

It was a principle in the Pythagorean school that number is the essence and basis of all things. They applied this theory to the study of nature, philosophy, and

music, and in consequence advanced the scientific and mathematical knowledge of the time. As a result of the number theory, so it is believed, they invented the musical scale.

The school at Crotona was in constitution an aristocratic society with Pythagoras as the head. Only those judged by Pythagoras as competent to profit by this higher education were admitted. The pupils came usually from the ranks of the aristocracy. They lived together in small houses surrounding a lecture hall, and like the Spartans, they had all things in common. A fund, which was made up from the fees of the students upon their entrance to the school, defrayed the living expenses. It was managed by the students under the direction of the master who regarded it as a training in economy.

The scholars were divided into two general classes, viz., the novices, and the elect. Pythagoras lectured to all, but gave only part of the doctrine to the beginners during their period of preparation which lasted several years. He was concealed by a curtain during the lecture. The students listened attentively to his discourse, which usually consisted of his dicta, or sayings, never asking a question about the things they could not understand. They were expected to reflect upon these thoughts during the hours of study and silence. Writing was recommended as an aid to memory, and also to reflection.

The advanced students received the fullness of doctrine, and were allowed to share in all the mysteries and secrets of their society.

Harmony, as stated above, was the aim in all instruction—harmony of the soul in all its faculties, and with truth; harmony of the body with the mind, which meant the subjection of the lower to the higher element. Indeed

the physical exercises were designed to promote health and vigor, another aspect of harmony. In morals harmony is virtue, and this is obtained by study and religion. Thus as they proceeded in practice to acquire this manifold harmony for the soul by study, reflection, and music, and for the body, by gymnastics, so they endeavored to realize perfect harmony in the moral order by regular practices of religion and virtue. Three times a day public exercises took place. The master constantly exacted obedience, and fidelity, examples of temperance and abnegation, and, it is conceded, he did more to raise the moral consciousness of the Greeks than had ever been achieved before.

The school came to an abrupt close during a popular uprising in Crotona. As it was aristocratic in its tendencies, and perhaps had some influence in the government of the colony, the people in an uprising against the aristocracy burned it. Pythagoras escaped to Metapontum, and there died about 500 B. C.

This early period of Greek education was followed by one of transition and readjustment. Under Cleisthenes (507 B. C.) Athens became a democracy in which the merchants and artisans, all the free inhabitants, were allowed the rights of citizenship. Successful in the Persian wars, and enjoying leadership in the Delian League (477 B. C.) over the Ionian states in Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean Sea, the city state then took on a newer and broader educational life at home. The changes in the political and social order offered many rich opportunities for personal advancement in the service of the State. Although the old education did not adequately prepare for this new condition of affairs, the change had hardly taken place when a new class of teachers arose to

deal with the situation. They engaged to prepare the ambitious for the callings of public life—holding out to them not the old motive of devotion to the State, but the inducement of personal advancement and success.

The Sophists, or wise men, as they were called, were at first wandering teachers, not attached to any institution, but going from place to place wherever they found pupils willing to pay for instruction. Many of them, like Protagoras and Gorgias, early Sophists, were men of travel and wide experience, and able to discuss the literary, political and scientific questions of the time. Some also were capable instructors in mathematics, philosophy, and grammar. In fact the formulation of Greek grammar is attributed to them. Many others, however, were charlatans with some powers of argumentation and oratory and inclined to affect a show of learning.

In philosophy and religion they rank as the first sceptics of Greece. "Man is the measure of all things," said Protagoras. Truth was subjective and was ultimately reduced to individual opinion. Individualism characterized their ethical and political doctrines as well. In dialectics, they aimed to equip one with the facility to argue on both sides of a question, and to make the weaker appear the stronger reason, thus sacrificing truth to argumentative skill, and giving justification to the use in subsequent ages of the term "sophism" to designate a fallacious or specious argument.

The most famous of the Sophists were Protagoras, Gorgias, Hippias, and Prodicus. It is well to note that some historians consider them a much misrepresented and abused class, and maintain that their work has not been properly appreciated. They regard the Sophists as the logical teachers of the transitional period who did a real

service in popularizing the learning which was to be taken up later by the great Greek philosophers Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Their apologists, however, cannot deny the pernicious influence of the Sophists on the subsequent civil and educational life of the Athenian people.

One need only view the situation that confronted Socrates and the great philosophers who followed him to realize the extent and nature of this pernicious influence. Old ideals in philosophy, ethics, and religion had been shattered by the Sophists, and a new aim in life was held out to the individual. The inadequacy of the old education to meet the new demands made upon it was already demonstrated, yet the new learning needed a solid basis in order to preserve the best elements of the older Athenian culture, and to insure the stability of the national life already placed in danger of disintegration. Socrates and his immediate successors endeavored to rid the newer education of its dangerous superficiality, and to give it a solid foundation. They sought also to restore in place of the rising spirit of individualism more of the ancient ideal of service and devotion to the State.

Socrates (469–399 B. C.) was born at Athens, the son of a sculptor. He learned his father's art and practiced it for a considerable portion of his early life. As a soldier in the Peloponnesian war he gave evidence of unusual hardiness and endurance, and also of that courageous spirit which distinguished his service later as a citizen and as a senator. During the reign of the Thirty Tyrants he risked his life by refusing to further measures that he felt were not for the best interests of the State. He had much of that older Athenian patriotism which placed public service above private interest or advancement. In personal appearance he sadly lacked that beauty of counte-

nance and form, and that elegance of manner and dress which the Athenians so much cherished, and in consequence he fell a frequent victim to the gibes of his rivals for popular favor, the Sophists, poets and satirists. But while his appearance repelled, his wonderfully sweet voice could attract and hold his hearers. It was one indication, at least, of the great and lovable soul within so unattractive a frame, for "never did outward semblance more belie the inward spirit of the man." Of his kindness, piety, and honesty his biographers leave no doubt. They make him the ideal man in all except external appearance. His patience under a shrewish wife is proverbial; his death on the charge of atheism and corrupting the youth of the city, as described by Plato in *Phaedo*, is equally well known.

Socrates was naturally influenced by the doctrines of Pythagoras and the Sophists. He expressly took up the principle of Protagoras, *i. e.*, "Man is the measure of all things," but he directed his inquiry first to man himself rather than to nature, taking as his initial principle, and the guiding idea of his teaching, the maxim, "Know thyself."

With the Sophists knowledge was subjective, if any certain knowledge were at all attainable, and this in most cases resolved itself into individual opinion. With Socrates knowledge is something real, objective, a guide to right conduct, and in fact, virtue: education, the means to obtain it, is to give the individual not the existing content of knowledge or information but the power of investigating the basis of his ideas. With this power of analysis and reduction of ideas to their basic principles man can come into possession of the body of truth and eventually virtue, for virtue is living by knowledge.

Unlike the Sophists with their formal lecture in appointed places, Socrates wandered about the public gymnasia, walks, and baths, wherever he could find one or more willing to listen and to learn. He differed too from the Sophists in refusing to accept remuneration for his services. His general plan of teaching was by personal discussion or dialogue. This he took up in different ways according to the needs of his pupils. One method has been called the ironic, and the other the maieutic or birth-giving process. Examples of both have been preserved in the writings of Plato and Xenophon, for Socrates left no written work.

In applying the ironic method, usually with the Sophists and the arrogant whom he set out to confound, he ascertained their views on some interesting subject, and assuming them to be true, or pretending ignorance on his part, he proceeded by further questions to push their ideas to their logical conclusions, or in most instances, to their logical absurdities. In this manner he brought them to confusion, showing either the weakness of their reasoning, the shallowness of their knowledge, or the serious consequences of their erroneous views.

By the maieutic or birth-giving process, he intended to develop a broad and universal knowledge from the limited information already in the mind of his hearer. At first he learned by questions the extent of this mental content, and by it determined a series of questions with which to lead the mind into fields of thought hitherto unexplored. He strove to test the source of all information, to get at the reason or essence of things, and if possible to reach a definition of them. The method was inductive throughout.

Socrates then endeavored to make one's knowledge secure and personal. An idea was not to be accepted on

authority until by induction from experience or observation its truth or universal application could be attested. What was found to be conformable to experience, true when tested by logical reasoning, and of universal application was to be accepted. Since he was concerned with ethical questions his conclusions had moral value, and directive influence towards virtue.

It is well attested by Xenophon[1] that Socrates believed in the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul. He believed learning would make men better individually and as a civic body. With these views of virtue he showed an inspiring example to his countrymen. He had the distinction of beginning a great educational movement, of developing a method of teaching which was not only effective in overcoming the pernicious influence of the Sophists, but succeeded in giving a foundation to knowledge, and a basis for the first system of ethics the pagan world had known.

Plato, the great disciple of Socrates, was born of an aristocratic Athenian family about the year 427 B. C. After the death of his master he left Greece and spent ten or twelve years traveling and studying, principally in Egypt, and in the Greek colonies of Italy and Sicily. In 388 B. C. he founded at Athens his famous school of philosophy, the Academy, where for thirty-six years he was actually engaged in teaching. To him we are largely indebted for a knowledge of the educational ideas of Socrates, which he adopted and elaborated, and for the most comprehensive educational scheme the Greek world had yet seen.

Socrates had hoped to overcome the individualism of the Sophists, restore stability to society, and at the same time

[1] *Memorabilia*, i, 4, 2.

give liberty and scope to the individual, by means of knowledge, a knowledge based on universal concepts or ideas and by which man was to live virtuously. Plato accepted the universal idea as the basis of knowledge, and taught that the idea was the only reality. Goodness was to be attained by means of virtue which is the harmony or order of the faculties under the light of reason. The purpose of the State is the cultivation of virtue in individuals, by means of education. In his ideal State there were three classes: the rulers or philosophers; the defenders or warriors; and the providers, a class including peasants, artisans, and merchants. These he compared to the virtues of wisdom, courage and thrift in the individual.

The dialogues, the *Republic*, and the *Laws*, set forth his theory of education. The *Republic*, or dialogue on Justice, was a work of his middle life. It represents the State as a socialistic body to which all things belong. Education is its chief concern, for by it the various classes of people are determined. While the existing form of education is not changed by this dialogue many valuable suggestions are offered in regard to the studies embraced by the terms music and gymnastic.

Plato aimed to produce in education the highest perfection of body and soul. At the close of the primary period those who were not adapted by nature for higher studies formed the industrial class and then took up the pursuit of their crafts. Those of military capabilities received higher training for their preparation as soldiers, and this was usually from the twentieth to the thirtieth year. Finally, the most promising of the ephebes were selected for a course in philosophy extending over five years and intended to prepare them for the office of ruler, whose term of service lasted fifteen years.

The *Laws*, one of the last of Plato's works, embodies his maturer views and marks many changes in his political and educational theories. In it Plato returns to the older Athenian ideas of government and education, advocating also many features of the Spartan system, such as the common life of the youth under the supervision of the elders, strict military discipline, and the education of both sexes. The philosophers, however, are not now to be the rulers, but rather the priests, and in place of philosophy in education a scientific religion is introduced. More attention is given to the moral effect of music and poetry.

The Platonic theory as expressed in the *Republic* or the *Laws* was not adopted by the Greeks. It is of value in the history of education for the many sound principles it embodied. Plato insisted, for example, on respecting the needs and interests of the child even in primary training, on the value of play, the education of woman, and the judicious use of music and poetry to incite to reverence and virtue. He denied, however, the rights of the parents over the education of their young, and made the preparation for citizenship, or service of the State, the end of education.

Aristotle, 384–322 B. C., the most famous of Plato's disciples, was a native of Stagira, a city in Macedonia. From his father, court physician to King Amyntas of Macedonia, it is quite probable Aristotle received his early education and acquaintance with natural science. From the age of seventeen to thirty-seven he studied under Plato, ranking as the most brilliant pupil of the Academy. Upon the death of Plato in 347 B. C. he left Athens. Four years later, while continuing his studies and investigations, he was called to be tutor of the young Alexander of Macedon, an office which he held for three

years. He did not return to Athens until about 335 B. C., when he founded the Lyceum as a rival of the Academy. The school received its name, Peripatetic, meaning "walking about," from Peripatos, the covered walk, where the lectures were given, and his followers were called the Peripatetics, perhaps, too, because Aristotle lectured while walking leisurely about with them under the porticos. Aristotle presided over the Lyceum until a year before his death.

Those of Aristotle's works which have been preserved are his lectures, and even these are not wholly authentic. Some appear to be the amplified notes of his pupils. His dialogues are preserved only in fragmentary form. As they exist at present the works embrace treatises on logic, metaphysics, psychology, physics, biology, politics, ethics, poetry and rhetoric. For an exposition of his educational theory recourse must be had to the *Politics*, the *Ethics*, and the *Poetics*.

Aristotle's educational scheme is substantially the same as Plato's, in that education is one of the chief functions of the State, a branch of the science of politics. He believed that of the three approved forms of government, namely, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, the first was theoretically the best, but since it was the most easily perverted, the last or republican form, was to be accepted. Aristotle had in mind, and this is important, the government of the city state. Not all were to enjoy the rights of citizenship; he excluded merchants, artisans, and slaves. The character of education is determined by the character of the state. Only the prospective citizen is to be educated. "The citizen should be moulded to suit the form of government under which he lives. For each government has a peculiar character which originally formed and

which continues to preserve it. And since the whole city has one end, it is manifest that education should be one and the same for all, and that it should be public and not private." [1]

The end of the State is the happiness of its citizens. "What we have to aim at is the happiness of each citizen, and happiness consists in a complete activity and practice of virtue." [2] With Aristotle the highest virtue is intellectual and its full realization is found in contemplation. A contemplative existence is nobler than the life of action. The end of education, as of life itself, is the attainment of intellectual and moral virtue which bring the greatest happiness of which man is capable. Moral virtue is acquired by habit, intellectual virtue by instruction.

In his treatment of the order of training he took it for granted that the physical should first be attended to, the moral next, and the intellectual last. Instruction really begins at the age of seven and this is under public supervision. The gymnastic exercises which he recommended were to aid physical development and not to produce athletes; consequently they were not to be severe for the growing boy.

Proper intellectual training he thought might be obtained through the subjects then in use in the schools if something higher than a mere utilitarian purpose were kept in view. "It is clear," he says, "that children should be instructed in some useful things—for example, in reading and writing—not only for their usefulness, but also because many other sorts of knowledge are acquired through them. With a like view they may be taught

[1] *Politics*, viii, 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv, 3.

drawing, not to prevent their making mistakes in their own purchases, or in order that they may not be imposed upon in the buying and selling of articles, but rather because it makes them judges of the beauty of the human form. To seek after the useful does not become free and exalted souls." [1]

Music is useful as a means of amusement and relaxation: it is a worthy part of the child's training, because of its ethical value. He attributed certain emotions and ethical effects to the various melodies and rhythms, and while he held that children should learn to sing and play, he did not sanction their striving after perfection in either respect with a view to making music an art or profession. From Aristotle's own method of teaching it is concluded that he considered dialectic or logic the fundamental study for the pursuit of the higher sciences. It furnished mental exercise, supplied the means of convincing others, and of detecting truth and error. It seems probable that he gave first place to philosophy among the theoretical sciences and to politics among the practical, but we have only his own preferences and those of his disciples to aid us in reaching such a conclusion.

Aristotle's educational theory was not completed either in the *Politics* or the *Ethics*, in the form in which these two works have come down to us. His influence on contemporary Greek education was slight because his followers were mostly devoted to speculation and research. But, later, in the Middle Ages, when his works were introduced in Europe, his great and abiding influence may be said to have begun. The Scholastics accepted his system of thought, and in applying his terminology forever associated it with Christian philosophy and theology. They re-

[1] *Politics*, viii, 3.

stored to favor his works on the natural sciences, for Aristotle was the first biologist and natural historian, as well as the founder of the science and art of logic, and they perpetuated both his deductive and inductive methods. "The Master of those who know," as Dante styled him, has not ceased to influence Christian schools.

The later period in Greek education is characterized by no addition to or improvement upon educational theory. It is marked by the spread of Greek culture in the East, following upon the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the rise of two new schools of philosophy, the Stoics, or followers of Zeno (350–258 B. C.), and the Epicureans, or disciples of Epicurus (341–270 B. C.), both of which had a decided effect on the Greeks and the Romans. In this period the University of Athens was established by annexing to the philosophical schools the institution for training the ephebes. The University of Alexandria, begun after the Greek conquest, became under the Ptolemies a center of Greek culture and continued as such long after the Roman invasion.

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CHAPTER VII

ROMAN EDUCATION

The history of Roman education falls naturally into three general periods, which, broadly speaking, are determined by the introduction of Greek culture: the first, that from the foundation of the Republic down to 250 B. C., the old Roman period, when Roman culture knew no Greek influence; the second, extending from 250 B. C. to 146 B. C., the time of foreign conquest, the transitional period, for Greek culture was then gradually introduced; and the third, from 146 B. C. to the fall of the Empire, when the culture of the nation was actually Graeco-Roman.

The Roman citizen of the first period presented a strong contrast to the Greek. Practical rather than aesthetic, he confined his interests chiefly to the home, the family, the welfare of the city; and his virtues were a certain constancy, rugged honesty, and devotion to family and State. His ideal of education or child training was in consequence different from the Greek. The family was sacred; it was the important social element and could not be, as in Sparta, subordinate to the State. The father enjoyed supreme authority in the family. He could expose his children or sell them into slavery. The law made him the arbiter of their lives and training.

The education given the Roman child in this period was supplied by the home. The mother cared for the boy until he was old enough to learn from his father the simple and practical duties of the farmer and the soldier. Every male in early Rome performed military service, and if

the father had absolute authority over his child he was held to the duty of preparing him for citizenship. There were then apparently few schools and these were conducted by slaves and freedmen. The only literary instruction seems to have been based on the Laws of the Twelve Tables—the ancient code drawn up for the government of the city by the decemvirs about 451–450 B. C. Boys learned these laws by heart, and if, as is thought, they also understood them, they gained considerable culture, for these were the basis of the magnificent code later given by Rome to the world.

It seems probable that when reading and writing were taught, they were taught in the family and by the father. As Laurie says, "This is the only explanation of the wide diffusion of these elementary arts. In any case, whether by domestic teaching or otherwise, reading and writing, so far as required for purposes of utility, were, at least from the fourth century B. C., widely known among certain classes of Roman citizens."[1]

The boy assumed the toga virilis at the age of sixteen, entering then upon the responsibilities of manhood. He was thenceforth more in the company of his father and received his education in the forum and on the military field. At the public festivals the youth chanted the national hymns, so it may be assumed that they had some knowledge of music and poetry. "The chief education, in brief, which the Roman boy received was the moral and religious training of home, and free intercourse with his father and mother. The religion of the hearth was the center-point of the religion of the Roman, and the education was the education of the hearth. In reli-

[1] Laurie, S. S. *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, 323. New York, 1907

gion a high standard of observance was maintained. Pietas, the ethical basis of the family, extended to the gens, and thus a reflected influence on home training was felt. What Sparta aimed at giving through its public system, and compulsorily, the Roman aimed at giving through the parents, and freely, that is to say, he was content with this, because we cannot say that there was any *conscious* aim. The result was that the Roman had a more genuine and personal morality than the Spartan."[1] There seems to be no doubt that in this domestic and civic education the virtues we associate with the Roman citizen of the early period were successfully inculcated. The young were religious, reverent, obedient with a sense of duty toward and an attachment for the family and the State.

In the second period, while an occasional school is referred to, domestic education largely prevailed. Through commercial and diplomatic relations the Greek tongue became more current in Rome and the patricians often had their children instructed in it. The first notable evidence of the use of Greek educationally is furnished by the translation of the *Odyssey* into Latin and its adoption as a text in the schools. This took place about 233 B. C. Then appeared also the first pieces of Latin literature, and it seems proper to conclude that schools had become more numerous and their instruction more advanced on the literary side. One of the strongest indications of the rising Greek influence may be had in the opposition of the conservative Romans to it and notably that of Cato. His work, *De liberis educandis*, spoken of by Quintilian as the first Latin treatise on education, aimed to counteract the growing tendency to pursue studies made popular

[1] Laurie, *Ibid.*, 323.

by the Greeks, especially music and literature. Cato's death in 148 B. C. may mark the close of the period which had brought, among other conquests, Greece into the possession of Rome.

From this period onward Greek culture is fused with Roman, and Greek language forms an essential element in a liberal education. From this time also is dated the rise of the schools of the grammarians and rhetoricians, at first considered a menace to society and condemned as such by the Senate, later flourishing and conducted by Latin scholars. The older education disappeared, but in the adoption of the newer the Romans retained the same practical purpose of an earlier time. They did not cultivate literature for its own sake. Success in public life demanded forensic ability, and oratory became the practical end to which led the study of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, and philosophy.

In the Graeco-Roman period may then be distinguished three types of schools corresponding to the stages in a boy's training. The elementary school, of which little is accurately known, could be entered at about the age of six or seven. There would be learned reading, writing, and the simple operations in arithmetic. The first reading book was the *Odyssey* in Latin. Since the memory was cultivated from the beginning of the child's course many maxims and poetical selections were, as in later times, copied in writing and learned by heart. Until the first century B. C. the custom of learning the Laws of the Twelve Tables continued. We know from Cicero that in his time it was no longer in practice. Something of the spirit of the early school may be suggested by its name "ludus," or play, and the schoolmaster's title, "ludimagister," master of play, but it is generally believed that the

discipline was severe. The Romans employed the paedagogus to accompany the boy to and from school. He was often a Greek or Syrian and was engaged to teach the boy conversational Greek.

Two forms of grammar schools appear in the Graeco-Roman period, viz., the Greek and the Latin. These furnished the secondary education and might be entered about the age of twelve. The Greek grammar school, the first in origin, was usually attended first according to Quintilian, because, as he said, the boy "ought first to be instructed in Greek learning, from which ours is derived." The Latin grammar school came into favor with the rise of Latin literature in the first century before Christ. The curriculum was dominated by grammar, but this embraced besides the technical study of language as we understand it, a course in literature. With no textbooks, the master taught by dictation and oral explanation of the poets read. While Homer was the first of the Greek poets used, others like Hesiod and the dramatists were later introduced. In the Latin schools Vergil, and later Horace, Lucan and Statius were regularly studied.

The remaining subjects of the secondary curriculum were pursued with that same practical purpose which everywhere differentiates the Roman from the Greek schools. Arithmetic did not go beyond practical calculations, nor geometry further than mensuration. Astronomy, as later in the Middle Ages, enabled one to determine the calendar. Music as a study of rhythm aided in the understanding of poetry and the acquisition of a good oratorical style. The motive for gymnastic exercises continued to be military training. The period of secondary instruction was usually completed when the boy assumed the toga. He could then take up military service, make an

immediate preparation for his calling as a farmer, or enter the rhetorical school with a view to a profession as lawyer or statesman.

In the rhetorical school the young received that special training in oratory and rhetoric which was designed to produce the finished public speaker. No study appealed more strongly to the ambitious young Roman whose success in law or public life depended so much upon his oratorical power. While immediately concerned with the technique of oratory he was taken more widely into literature, into the study of composition and style, also into mathematics, science, law, and philosophy in order that his training might be truly liberal. Although law and oratory were the leading studies in this course the rhetorical schools of imperial times usually provided advanced instruction in the seven liberal arts.

Still more advanced courses were obtainable in the universities, and it was not unusual for young Romans to take advantage of them in Athens, Alexandria, Rhodes, Constantinople, Rome and Marseilles. In such centers, where libraries had been collected and endowed by the emperors, were to be found the most distinguished rhetoricians of the Empire.

The best exposition of the Roman theory of education is to be found in Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory* (*De Institutione Oratoria*). Important elements of the theory may also be had in Cicero's treatise *On the Orator* (*De Oratore*), and Suetonius' *Lives of Famous Grammarians* (*De Grammaticis*) and *Rhetoricians* (*DeRhetoricis*).[1] Quintilian, who was born about 35 A. D., in Calagurris, Spain, came to Rome as a boy apparently to complete his studies.

[1] Cf. Monroe. *Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period.* New York, 1906.

At about the age of thirty he gained distinction in the capital as a lawyer. He taught rhetoric for about twenty years and was the tutor of the grandnephews of Domitian.

The *Institutes of Oratory* treats of the complete training of the orator, the highest type of the educated Roman. It does not deal merely with the professional training in rhetoric, but with education in all its stages from infancy onward. In its twelve books, consequently, it can be considered an exposition of the Roman idea of a complete education.

Quintilian's views, especially those on the physical and moral care of the infant and its earliest instruction, were significant for his own time and afterward. He believed in the use of ivory letters as playthings so that learning the alphabet would be pleasant, and recommended the tracing and copying of the forms of the letters for the first steps in writing. He laid great stress on the cultivation of the memory, considering a good memory one of nature's best gifts on the mental side. For this reason he recommended the extensive memorizing of passages from the poets, of proverbs and adages.

In the school he encouraged emulation on the ground that the child will strive to imitate his fellow-pupils more readily than his teacher. Of imitation he also treated, and the power to imitate the good deeds of others he esteemed as a favorable sign in a pupil.

Quintilian directed the teacher to respect the mental capacities of his pupils as well as the physical. Of corporal punishment he wrote: "I do not at all approve of boys being flogged, although it is an established practice and one approved by Chrysippus. I object to it because it is a disgusting practice and fit only for slaves, and indeed if you change the age of your pupil, a personal insult; be-

cause if the mind of a boy is so illiberal as to be inaccessible to reproofs, he will simply be hardened to the infliction of stripes like the worst of slaves." (Bk. i, 3.)

A strong ethical purpose appears in all parts of Quintilian's scheme of training. His perfect orator must be the *vir bonus* as well as *vir peritus dicendi*, "a man in every way eminent and excellent, a thinker of the best thoughts and a speaker of the best language." He placed upon parents the responsibility of securing for the child from his earliest school days the services of a morally good man as teacher, and upon the teacher, whether the grammarian or rhetorician, a similar responsibility in caring for the boy's moral formation by the observation of his habits and correction of his faults, and the judicious selection of his studies. Finally he would have the orator through the study of philosophy become a man of noble character. "For I not only say that he who would answer my idea of an orator must be a good man, but that no man, unless he be good, can ever be an orator." (Bk. xii, 1.) Quintilian's treatise has a significant relation to modern education for it was assiduously read and its ideas reproduced by Renaissance educators during the revival of classical culture.

It is not historically correct to connect the decline of Roman education with the decadence of Roman society during the Empire, for the school remained the last stronghold of pagan life and culture. Grammatical and rhetorical schools became more numerous then in the provinces and flourished especially in Gaul, Spain and Africa. Many of these schools were supported by the municipalities. Some of them outlived the Empire itself. The emperors substantially encouraged the foundation of libraries, and endowed some of them. They conferred

distinctions on rhetoricians and grammarians. Antoninus Pius made the higher teachers a privileged class, exempting them from taxes, service in the army, and the obligation of holding municipal office. Some idea of their number may be seen from the restrictions he placed upon them. He permitted only three rhetoricians and three grammarians in the smaller towns, and four rhetoricians and four grammarians in the larger, and five each in the capitals of provinces.[1]

While schools increased and facilities for education were more extensive the aim and spirit of Roman culture had nevertheless declined. With corruption in the highest offices of the Empire, even in the judiciary, with a privileged and profligate aristocracy, a heavily taxed middle class, and a nation wholly lacking in morality, patriotism disappeared and with it devotion to the State. The career of the orator no longer offered political promise to the young. Education without practical purpose then became formal and artificial. Only the wealthy attended the higher schools. Attempts were made to restore and rehabilitate ancient culture, notably by Julian the Apostate, but these were as futile as they were short-lived. The schools of the grammarians and rhetoricians were superseded by the episcopal and monastic schools of the early Middle Ages.

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[1] Laurie, 395.

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SUMMARY OF ANCIENT EDUCATION

The oldest educational system in history, that of China, might appropriately be characterized as static and traditional; it admitted no advance for centuries. Chinese education was, however, democratic, since open to all, whereas Japanese was aristocratic. Egypt furnished an example of class education, whose highest form was seen in the training of the priests. India, with a rigid caste system and offering educational facilities only to the members of the higher castes, remained in a static condition for centuries. In Persia the State directed all educational efforts for its own purposes, chiefly the training of soldiers. The Hebrews who were affected by the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians and Egyptians surpassed all Oriental nations in their ideal of government and education. Religion dominated everything in their national and domestic life.

Greek education, as seen in Sparta, was socialistic and military, the training of the soldier; in Athens, both civic and cultural, the training of the citizen for all his duties through a harmonious development of mind and body. Theoretically and practically, Greek education was the most advanced of ancient times. The education of Rome, at first domestic and civic in nature, and characteristically practical, blended with the Greek and became in its best stage, Graeco-Roman.

Part II

Christian Education

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

With the teaching of Jesus Christ a new era began in the history of education. The loftiest truths of religion and the highest form of morality were made known by Him, and not merely to a chosen group of philosophers, or to a single nation, but to all mankind. As the Redeemer He came to restore fallen man to a lost birthright—the friendship of God, and His sublime message of hope and salvation was extended to all. As the Man-God He raised man to a new dignity, to the dignity of being a son of God by adoption and an heir to the heavenly kingdom. All men became His brethren, rejoicing in a sonship under a common Father, and bound by the ties of love for one another. There were to be no castes or classes among them, for God is no respecter of persons.

For His followers earthly life took on a new significance. This world could not be regarded as a lasting home, but a temporary dwelling place in which the soul prepared for a perfect existence in a future and eternal life. Consequently, its hardships and sorrows were made endurable, and even sweet, since they afforded opportunities for increasing virtue and greater attachment to the things of the spirit. Man learned to seek the things which are above and not the things which are upon the earth, and, with a certain knowledge of the nature of this destiny, there came an appreciation of the individual and his place in society that the world had never before known. The condition of woman was thereby immeasurably elevated over her state

in pagan civilization. She was no longer the chattel or slave of man, but his companion who shared an equal dignity with him before the Creator. Marriage became a holy union, a sacrament; motherhood was blessed; and children were held to be the gifts of God. They were the objects of Christ's special dilection, and were held up by Him as the embodiments of that innocence and purity He desired to see in His followers. For their training in the knowledge and fear of the Lord the parents were directly responsible.

With the Christian conception of life came distinctly new ideals in culture and education, and when we consider the subsequent influence of these ideals in shaping educational theory and practice for two thousand years, we realize how fittingly Jesus Christ is called the Great Teacher of Mankind, and how justly His Church is regarded as the greatest educational institution in history.

THE TEACHING OF CHRIST

The Divine Master possessed all the qualifications of the perfect teacher, and in His infinite wisdom a complete mastery of the truths He taught. His method of teaching consequently must have reflected this perfection; it must have been perfectly suited to the nature of His doctrine, and to the character of those whom He sought to instruct. Hence the study of His life and work from the educational viewpoint is of great historical and practical value. We may here note in brief outline some of the elements observable in His method which are important in the history of education.

Since our Lord taught by oral and personal instruction, the influence of His presence, His voice, and all those in-

definable qualities which constitute the teacher's peculiar force, should not be lost to view. He constantly associated with His immediate followers, obtained their confidence, and expounded His doctrine to meet their special needs. He imparted to them the superior knowledge reserved for those who were to teach the mysteries of the Kingdom of God. He encouraged their questions, rebuked them when they did not ask Him of things uppermost in their minds, and, in general, provoked their wonderment and curiosity. They called Him Rabbi—Master.

Not only the Apostles but the people generally were affected by Christ's teaching power. They declared that He taught with authority, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees, and they showed by their interest in Him, and by their eagerness to hear Him, how attractive both His manner and doctrine were. They proclaimed Him a great teacher.

An invariable practice with our Lord was to prepare the mind for the truths of His message, and the greater the truth the more detailed the preparation. The teaching of the Real Presence had been foreshadowed by the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, and according to St. John, it was not given until the most apparent objections to it had been heard and answered. The frequent references of our Lord to the Old Testament, as prefiguring many things He came to teach, can be recalled. St. Matthew's Gospel abounds in such instances. Of Nicodemus who questioned Him He asked, "Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?" (John iii, 10.) The teaching of St. John the Baptist was, in the order of divine Providence, a preparation of the Jewish people for the message of Christ, and it was so referred to by Him when St. John's mission was completed.

There is noticeable in the method employed by our Lord a twofold adjustment to the needs and conditions of the time. First, the general adaptation of sublime and abstract truths to the capacity of the human intelligence; second, the particular application of these truths to individual instances, to certain classes of society, to the people of certain localities, or of peculiar occupations in life, as *e.g.*, to the rich young man, to the Pharisees, the townspeople, fishermen and tillers of the soil. The first adjustment was accomplished by presenting the truths in plain and simple language intelligible to all; the second, by using forms of speech and illustrations that furnished concrete embodiments of His ideas and were entirely within the comprehension of those addressed. Again, He took some familiar thing in the natural or social order and attached his lesson to it. In this way His doctrine was not only beautifully expressed but its assimilation was rendered easy. It was inseparably correlated with the previous knowledge of His hearers; it was associated with the truths of nature and experience, and its retention provided for. The farmer could not forget the parable of the sower, the Pharisees that of the husbandman and his wicked servants, and the people generally that of the marriage feast, nor could they fail to see their application. The lilies of the field, the birds of the air, the sheepfold, all had sublime lessons permanently associated with them.

Finally, our Lord was the living model of His teaching. "Learn of Me for I am meek and humble of heart." He gave example as well as precept. "Follow Me," was the first invitation to the Apostles and the first injunction He placed upon them. They were to imitate Him and represent Him before the faithful: like St. Paul they were to say, "Be ye followers of me as I also am of Christ." (I Cor. iv,

16.) Furthermore, our Lord insured the everlasting teaching of His doctrine by making His Church a teaching body under the guidance of the Spirit of Truth. He empowered her to teach all men and promised He would remain with her to the consummation of the world. "As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you." (John xx, 21.) "Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." (Matt. xxviii, 19–20.)

THE TEACHING CHURCH

That the Church was fully conscious of this teaching office the history of apostolic times amply testifies. She was naturally in the beginning engaged in moral and religious teaching. Having set out to conquer the world, her instruction at first related to the content of the New Dispensation and the moral obligations it implied, but, in consequence of this teaching mission and the circumstances of life in a pagan environment, it was not long before she undertook to teach, or to provide for the teaching of, matters that were not purely religious. In these early days the Church herself was an educational institution, although the intellectual element which we associate with learning was far overshadowed by the moral and religious. She was teaching her children how to live, and the sphere of her activity embraced the home as well as the Church. In fact, it was only when the discipline of the home waned, and the domestic circle became incapable of supplying the moral training deemed necessary for the young, that the Church undertook to provide the whole elementary education of youth.

From the very beginning the Church adopted in her organic teaching many of the principles which are to-day held as essential in educational procedure. Her ritual, with its appeal to the mind through the senses, with its symbolism, with its demand for cooperation in prayer and ceremony on the part of the faithful, with the sacraments, as the outward or objective signs of interior grace, with the veneration and imitation of the saints, incorporated some of the soundest psychological principles. Furthermore, she demanded an actual expression in life and conduct of the religious knowledge received.

The first Christian schools arose to meet the practical need of instructing converts from paganism. Those that we know as the **Catechumenal** provided the instruction and training then required as a preparation for the Sacrament of Baptism. The instructors in the earliest of these schools were the bishops, priests and deacons, but in the later schools minor clerics and laymen held the office of catechist, or instructor. The pupils were of two classes, the inquirers, those who came to learn of the Christian religion and were not yet accepted as candidates for Baptism, and those who after a systematic course of instruction were accepted and properly called catechumens. The content of instruction embraced the doctrines of the Church, the ritual, and the observances of the Christian life. The method of testing the knowledge of the catechumens was that of question and answer—the catechetical. The candidates not only received this intellectual formation but they also underwent an ascetical and liturgical training, and only after years of probation, in which they demonstrated their worthiness, were they declared competent to receive Baptism and be numbered among the faithful. When persecutions ceased, and there was less

danger of apostasy, the time of probation was shortened, and during the reign of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) it was reduced to forty days.

Some schools offered more advanced instruction in the Christian faith in order to withstand the attacks of pagan adversaries, and the schools of this character are known as the **Catechetical** in contradistinction to the **Catechumenal.** They were in reality the higher schools or academies of philosophy and theology. Having originated at episcopal sees, they also served as seminaries for the training of the clergy. The most famous of these schools was established at Alexandria about 179 A. D., and some of the most learned Fathers of the early Church were its teachers. **Pantaenus,** probably its first great teacher, was a converted pagan philosopher. He naturally sought to adjust his instruction to meet the more subtle questions of the Greek schools of thought. In the time of Clement (†217) and Origen (†254) the curriculum was extended and included courses in Greek literature, history, dialectics, and the sciences. In a panegyric on Origen by Gregory Thaumaturgus, his pupil, we have a graphic account of Origen's school at Caesarea. This is considered the best extant description of a Christian school of the third century. A most interesting detail refers to Origen's interest in physics and the natural sciences. "Nor did he confine his efforts merely to that form of the mind which it is the lot of dialectics to regulate; but he also took in hand that humble capacity of mind (which shows itself) in our amazement at the magnitude, and the wondrousness, and the magnificent and absolutely wise construction of the world, and in our marvelling in a reasonless way, and in our being overpowered with fear, and in our knowing not, like the irrational creatures, what conclusion to come to. That,

too, he aroused and corrected in other studies in natural science, illustrating and distinguishing the various divisions of created objects, and with admirable clearness reducing them to their pristine elements, taking them all up perspicuously in his discourse, and going over the nature of the whole, and of each several section, and discussing the multiform revolution and mutation of things in the world, until he carried us fully along with him under his clear teaching; and by those reasonings which he had partly learned from others, and partly found out for himself, he filled our minds with a rational instead of an irrational wonder at the sacred economy of the universe and the irreproveable constitution of all things. This is that sublime and heavenly study which is taught by natural philosophy—a science most attractive to all."[1]

Other famous catechetical schools flourished at Rome, under Justin the Martyr, at Antioch, Edessa, Nisibis, Jerusalem and Carthage. The **Catechumenate,** as the whole institution was called, reached its fullest development in the third and fourth centuries. It disappeared with the victory of Christianity over paganism when the elaborate preparation for Baptism was no longer necessary.

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[1] *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* iii, 126.

CHAPTER IX

FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

The Fathers of the Church and the early Christian writers very naturally took a deep and practical interest in education. As bishops they were conscious of their duty to safeguard the instruction of those entrusted to their care and to defend the educational rights of Christians; and, as teachers in the catechetical schools, they were anxious to adopt the most effective methods for teaching the catechumens. The elaborate system of religious instruction developed in the latter institution is one evidence, at least, of the fact that the early Christian Fathers were not merely educational theorists but practical educators as well. In the patristic literature of the Eastern and the Western Church are found many treatises of an educational nature. Some of them are of general interest, dealing with the larger questions of the value or excellence of human wisdom, its utility in the exposition and defense of religious truth, while others discuss the practical problems of catechizing the adults and the young.

In the Orient, **Clement of Alexandria** (160-215), already noted in connection with the catechetical school, chose to speak of Christ as the Pedagogue or Instructor. In his *Introduction to Christianity*, the second part of which is on the Instructor, he says of the office of the Instructor: "Our Instructor is like His Father, God, Whose Son He is, sinless, blameless, and with a soul devoid of passion, God in the form of man. Being practical, not theoretical, His aim is to improve the soul,

not to teach, and to train up to a virtuous, not to an intellectual life."[1] In the *Stromata*, *Miscellanies*, are many beautiful reflections on the purpose of education and the benefit of culture for the Christian. With regard to the value of human knowledge he says: "I call him truly learned who brings everything to bear on the truth; so that, from geometry, and music, and grammar and philosophy itself, culling what is useful, he guards the faith against assault."[2] There is a chapter on the superiority of right conduct over right speaking.

Origen (185-254), whose entire career was spent in teaching and writing, has been mentioned above in reference to the course of instruction in the catechetical school. From the account of his school by his pupil Gregory Thaumaturgus can be seen both the courses and methods of instruction. His dogmatical and ascetical writings, his defense of Christianity against the pagans and Jews, his commentaries on the Scriptures, were so numerous that he is considered the most voluminous Christian writer of the Ante-Nicene period. Many of his treatises are reproductions of his discourses. His great work, *De Principiis* treats "in four books of the fundamental doctrines and principles of the Christian faith, and although it is not free from error it is historically the first scientific exposition of the Christian religion."

St. Cyril (†386), Bishop of Jerusalem, was appointed a teacher in the catechetical school of Jerusalem after his ordination to the priesthood. Twenty-four lectures, *Catecheses*, or catechetical instructions, which he delivered to the catechumens, have been preserved. The first eighteen were addressed to the candidates for Baptism

[1] Migne, *Pat. Gr.* viii, 1. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ii.
[2] Migne, *ibid.* *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. iv.

and the remaining to the newly baptized. They allow us to see what doctrines were taught to these classes of pupils and the order of treatment, and are of especial importance in the history of catechetics.

Around **St. Basil the Great** (329-379) are grouped three great Fathers of the Oriental Church all of whom by their lives and writings affected early Christian education. St. Basil received a literary education at Caesarea, Constantinople and at Athens where he was a fellow student of St. Gregory Nazianzus. He gained a reputation for learning even in youth. When he retired from the world to lead an ascetic life St. Gregory of Nissa, his brother, and St. Gregory Nazianzus joined him. In 370, after the death of Eusebius, he became archbishop of Caesarea. His Rule for monks which organized monastic life in the East has survived in the Greek Church. In it he countenanced the instruction of adults and of children by the monks and in his *Address to Young Men on the Right Use of Greek Literature* he expressed views which not only influenced early monastic education in the East but affected Christian education in the Middle Ages and especially in the Renaissance. Some famous passages are the following:

"Unto the life eternal the Holy Scriptures lead us, which teach us through divine words. But so long as our immaturity forbids our understanding their deep thought, we exercise our spiritual perceptions upon profane writings, which are not altogether different, and in which we perceive the truth as it were in shadows and in mirrors. . . ."

After condemning what is unfit in the poets, he says: "I have the same words for the historians, especially when they make up stories for the amusement of their hearers. And certainly we shall not follow the example of the rhetoricians in the art of lying. For neither in the courts of justice nor in other business affairs will

falsehood be of any help to us Christians, who, by having chosen the straight and true path of life, are forbidden by the Gospel to go to law. But on the other hand we shall receive gladly those passages in which they praise virtue and condemn vice. For just as bees know how to extract honey from flowers, which to men are agreeable only for their fragrance and color, even so here also those who look for something more than pleasure and enjoyment in such writers may derive profit for their souls. Now, then, altogether after the manner of bees must we use these writings, for the bees do not visit all the flowers without discrimination, nor indeed do they seek to carry away entire those upon which they light, but rather, having taken so much as is adapted to their needs, they let the rest go. So we, if wise, shall take from heathen books whatever befits us and is allied to the truth, and shall pass over the rest. And just as in culling roses we avoid the thorns, from such writings as these we will gather everything useful, and guard against the noxious. So, from the very beginning, we must examine each of their teachings, to harmonize it with our ultimate purpose, according to the Doric proverb, 'testing each stone by the measuring line.' "[1]

St. Basil was responsible for the early education of his younger brother, **St. Gregory of Nissa** (†394), who became a professional rhetorician and was for a time, it is believed, excessively devoted to pagan culture. He was won back to Christian studies and practices through the influence of St. Basil. St. Gregory was a prolific writer on dogmatic and exegetical subjects. His work on Catechetics in 40 chapters, called the *Great Catechism* (*Oratio Catechetica Magna*), is dedicated to Christian teachers, and is a defense of Christianity against Gentiles, Jews and Arians. It abounds in directions to teachers regarding the method of instructing different classes of converts to Christianity and defines the Christian attitude towards pagan culture and philosophy.

[1] Sections ii and iv. Translated by Frederick Morgan Padelford in *Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great.* New York, 1912.

St. Gregory of Nazianzus (330-390) was carefully reared by his mother, St. Nonna. His education was received at Caesarea in Cappadocia, Caesarea in Palestine, Alexandria and Athens. He became one of the greatest orators and poets of Christian antiquity, and was described by St. Basil as "A vessel of election, a deep well, or rather the mouth of Christ." He represents the type of early Christian bishop who brought all the culture and learning of his time to the service of the Church. Like St. Basil, he favored the study of Greek literature. His *Accusations Against Julian* (*Orationes Invectivae contra Julianum Imperatorem*) were a strong protest against the apostate's efforts to deprive Christians of higher education.[1]

St. John Chrysostom (347-407) began public life as a lawyer. He had been carefully trained in rhetoric and philosophy, and was successful in his profession. Renouncing the world, he joined the anchorites near Antioch, but because of illness was obliged to forego his austerities and return to the city. After ordination he was appointed Cathedral preacher at Antioch. He became patriarch of Constantinople in 397. As a writer, St. John Chrysostom ranks as one of the most voluminous of the Eastern Church. 722 of his works, 238 of which are letters, have been preserved. Among those of educational value are a work on the Priesthood[2] and *A Defense of Monastic Life.*[3] In his sermons and letters he dwelt especially on the necessity of Christian training for the children, first in the home then in the school. We learn from many of his writings the reasons why he urged parents to send their children

[1] Cf. King, C. W., *Julian the Emperor* (London, 1888), for English translation of these orations.

[2] *De Sacerdotio libri vi.*

[3] *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae.*

to the monasteries for their education. The public schools offered too many dangers for Christian youth.

"If you have masters among you who can answer for the virtue of your children, I should be very far from advocating your sending them to the monastery; on the contrary, I should strongly insist on their remaining where they are. . . . But if no one can give such a guarantee, we ought not to send children to schools where they will learn vice before they learn science, and where in acquiring learning of relatively small value, they will lose what is far more precious, their integrity of soul. . . . Are we then to give up literature? you will exclaim. I do not say that; but I do say that we must not kill souls. . . .

". . . When the foundations of a building are sapped we should seek rather for architects to reconstruct the whole edifice, than for artists to adorn the walls. . . . [In fact, the choice lies between two alternatives; a liberal education which you may get by sending your children to the public schools, or the salvation of their souls which you secure by sending them to the monks.] Which is to gain the day, science or the soul? If you can unite both advantages, do so by all means; but if not, choose the more precious."[1]

As in the East, the early Christian Fathers of the West include professional teachers as well as educational writers. Most famous are, of course, the Churchmen who by their writings and discourses influenced Christian thought and culture. There were among them some public men, converts to Christianity, who devoted their lives to teaching. **Lactantius Firmianus** (†330) was a teacher of rhetoric in Nicomedia at the time of his conversion to Christianity. His reputation as a teacher won for him, it is believed, an invitation from the Emperor Constantine to instruct his son Crispus, an offer which he was unable to accept. He died in poverty at Trier in the year 330. For his eloquence and purity of style he is called the Christian Cicero.

[1] Cf. Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, 19. New York, 1910. Chrysostom, *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae; ad patrem fidelem*, iii. Opera, i, 116-121. Parisiis, 1839.

St. Ambrose (340-397), a native of Trier, was a fine Latin and Greek scholar, and by profession a lawyer. He held public office in the service of the Empire under Valentinian I, and was Governor of Emilia and Liguria when proclaimed by the people Bishop of Milan. A forceful orator, his eloquence attracted unbelievers as well as Christians to his discourses in the Cathedral of Milan and many of those who, like St. Augustine, went to enjoy his diction were drawn into the fold. The writings of St. Ambrose comprise doctrinal, moral and scriptural treatises, sermons, letters, hymns and poems. *De officiis ministrorum*, a treatise in three books, based on *De officiis* of Cicero, written to instruct his spiritual sons, the ministers of the Church, in their moral duties, was also intended as a manual of morality for all Christians. It encouraged the study of ancient literature and was of influence throughout the Middle Ages. Some of the orations and sermons of St. Ambrose are models of Latin composition and as such were used in the schools of the Renaissance. His treatises on virginity and the duties of consecrated virgins exerted, according to St. Jerome, a great influence on Christian women of that time.

St. Jerome (340-420), a native of Dalmatia, modern Hungary, studied at Rome under the grammarians Donatus and Victorinus. The former's grammar was the textbook commonly used in medieval schools. St. Jerome became passionately fond of the ancient classics. He tells us that only when warned in a dream of the danger of his excessive devotion to them did he resolve to use them solely for Christian purposes. He became an indefatigable writer and teacher in the service of Christianity. He prepared a Latin text of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek versions at the request of Pope Damasus. This has been

known as the Latin Vulgate, the official version of the Scriptures approved by the Council of Trent. The *Liber de viris illustribus, seu catalogus de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, was the first Christian literary history whose purpose was to show the number of literary men Christianity had produced. St. Jerome is important for his views on the study of Latin and other languages, *e.g.*, Hebrew, Greek, which he knew thoroughly, and on the education of girls. The latter are found in his letters to Laeta, and to Gaudentius. His concern for the early moral formation of the child; for care in the selection of teachers; and advice on the practical preparation for the after duties of housewife and mother are clear from the following experts.

"Of this kind must be the education of a soul which is intended for a temple of the Holy Ghost:—Let her not learn to hear or say anything but what savors of the fear of God. Impure language let her not understand, or know anything of worldly songs; while her tongue is yet tender, let its acquaintance be only with sweet psalms. Keep her away from the wantonness of youth; nay, let even her maidens and attendants be debarred all secular connections, lest what they have learned amiss they should teach worse. Let her have letters made of box and ivory, and learn to call them by their proper names; these will amuse her, and thus amusement will become instruction. And let her not only know the letters in their order, so as to repeat their names by rote, but change the order frequently, mixing the middle with the first, and the last with the middle, till she can recognize them by sight as well as sound. But when her trembling hand begins to hold a pen, let its tender joints be guided by the hand of another, placed over hers; or else let the letters be engraved upon a tablet, so that she may trace out their forms without wandering from the lines of the engraving. Induce her to put syllables together by rewards, and encourage her with such little gifts as please the mind of infancy.

". . . Then you must look out for a tutor of approved age, and character, and learning; nor will a man of learning blush to do that for a relation, or for a noble virgin, what Aristotle did for the

son of Philip, for whose sake that philosopher condescended to the office of a clerk, and instructed him in the first rudiments of knowledge. Small things must not be despised, when great things cannot come to pass without them. The letters themselves, and the first rules of education, sound very differently from the mouth of the rustic and the learned.

". . . Let her every day repeat a lesson culled from the flowers of Scripture, learning a number of verses in Greek, and immediately afterward being instructed in Latin; for if the tender mouth is not properly moulded from the very commencement, the pronunciation will acquire a foreign accent, the faults of which will pass into her native tongue. *You* must be her governess, and the model of her untutored infancy; take care that she sees nothing in you, or in her father, which she would be wrong in doing. Remember that you are her parents, and that she learns more from your example than your voice. Flowers are soon dead; the violet, and the lily, and the crocus soon fade in an unwholesome air. Never let her go into public unless accompanied by you; nor enter the sanctuaries built over the martyrs' tombs, or churches, without her mother.

". . . Teach her also the working of wool, to hold the distaff, to place the basket in her lap, to ply the spindle, and draw out the threads. But let her have nothing to do with silk, or golden thread. Let the clothes she makes be such as to keep out the cold, and not a mere compromise with nakedness. Her food should be a few herbs, and so forth, with sometimes a few small fishes. But not to go into details on this subject, of which I have elsewhere spoken more at length,—let her always leave off eating with an appetite, so that she may be able to read and sing immediately.

". . . You will answer here, 'How can a woman living in the world, in the midst of so vast a population as that of Rome, look after all these things?' Do not, therefore, undertake a burden which you are unable to bear; but as soon as you have weaned her with Isaac, and clothed her with Samuel, send her to her grandmother and aunt. Restore its most precious jewel to the chamber of Mary, and place her in the cradle of the infant Jesus. Let her be brought up in the convent, in the company of virgins; let her never learn to swear; to think falsehood a sacrilege; be ignorant of the world; live the life of an angel; be in the flesh, but not of it; believe every human being to be of the like nature with herself. . . . Resign to the care of Eustochium the infant whose very cries are even now a prayer

for thine own good. Make her the companion of her holiness, hereafter to be its heiress. From her earliest years let her look to her, love her, admire her, whose very words, and gait, and dress, are a lesson in the virtues.

". . . If you only send Paula, I will undertake the office of her nurse and teacher; I will carry her on my shoulders, as old as I am; I will mold into form her lisping words, much prouder of my office than any worldly philosopher,—training up not a Macedonian king to die by Babylonian poison, but a hand-maiden and bride of Christ, a fit offering to an everlasting kingdom." [1]

St. Augustine (354–430) ranks as one of the greatest of early Christian educators. Born at Tagaste, in northern Africa, of a pagan father and a Christian mother, St. Monica, he was educated in his native place and in Carthage. In his youth he embraced the Manichean heresy and became a skeptic. He taught rhetoric in the schools of Tagaste, Carthage, Rome and Milan. In the last named place he attended the sermons of St. Ambrose, attracted to them because of their literary excellence. He was converted to Christianity while in Milan, owing to the instructions of St. Ambrose and the prayers of his mother who had followed him there. He retired with St. Monica into solitude and was baptized a Christian. After her death he returned to Africa to pursue the life of a hermit, and later became Bishop of Hippo.

Many of his extensive literary works are of educational value, as, for instance, his *Retractions* and *Confessions*. His *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, which was an introduction to the study of the Scriptures, contains his views on the right use of the various sciences, especially rhetoric, philosophy and pagan literature. For the instruction of

[1] For complete text of this Letter Cf. *Works of St. Jerome* in *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, vol. vi, 195; also *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, vol. v, 594.

catechumens he composed his work on *Catechizing the Uninstructed* (*De catechizandis rudibus*) which contains specimen discourses and indicates the methods for religious instruction which he advocated. Throughout his works are separate treatises on the liberal arts.

The following excerpt sets forth his views on the usefulness of profane science:

"Moreover, if those who are called philosophers, and especially the Platonists, have aught that is true and in harmony with our Faith, we are not only not to shrink from it but to claim it for our own use from those who have unlawful possession of it. For, as the Egyptians had not only the idols and heavy burdens which the people of Israel hated and fled from, but also vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, and garments, which the same people when going out of Egypt, appropriated to themselves, designing them for better use, not doing this on their own authority, but by the command of God, the Egyptians themselves, in their ignorance, providing them with things which they themselves were not making a good use of; in the same way all branches of heathen learning have not only false and superstitious fancies and heavy burdens of unnecessary toil, which every one of us, when going out under the leadership of Christ from the fellowship of the heathen, ought to abhor and avoid; but they contain also liberal instruction which is better adapted to the use of the truth, and some most excellent precepts of morality; and some truths in regard even to the worship of one God are found among them. Now these are, so to speak, their gold and silver which they did not create themselves, but dug out of the mines of God's Providence, which are everywhere scattered abroad, and are perversely and unlawfully prostituting to the worship of devils. These, therefore, the Christian, when he separates himself from the miserable fellowship of these men, ought to take away from them and devote to their proper use in preaching the Gospel. Their garments, also, that is, human institutions such as are adapted to that intercourse with men which is indispensable in this life, we must take and turn to Christian use." [1]

[1] *De Doctrina Christiana*, Bk. ii, c. xl.

Three Christian writers form, as it were, the link between the patristic period and the early medieval. Their works had an influence on the schools of their time and throughout the early Middle Ages. **Boethius,** the first of these (480–524), was a Roman Patrician and statesman. While in the employ of Theodoric he was falsely accused of plotting against the Empire, was imprisoned and finally put to death. There is at present no doubt of his Christianity. He is venerated at Pavia as St. Severinus Boethius. His *Consolation of Philosophy,* written while in prison, was widely read during the Middle Ages, as were also his treatises on arithmetic, on grammar and on philosophy. Medieval philosophy is indebted to him for much of its terminology and knowledge of Aristotle. He translated Aristotle's treatises on logic, and two books of Euclid's geometry. His greatest influence, however, was exerted by the *Consolation of Philosophy* which was translated into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred the Great.

Cassiodorus (490–583) was born of a Syrian family then living in Italy, and like Boethius became a Roman statesman. He held the office of Consul after having been Governor of Lucania and Bruttium. After retiring from public life he founded a monastery on his own estate at Vivarium, and became a monk. Many political and some historical works are attributed to him. In a large sense he was the instructor of the Gothic conquerors in the traditions of their offices and in Roman government. *De artibus et disciplinis liberalium litterarum* is a treatise on the liberal arts in which he unites Christian with pagan culture. Intended to indicate subjects of study for his monks, it made literary work and the copying of manuscripts an approved occupation of the monastery, and profoundly affected the early schools of the Benedictines.

St. Isidore (560–636) was educated and trained by his brother Leander, Bishop of Seville. He became an extensive writer, and finally was elevated to the See of Seville. He erected many schools and educational institutions but he is chiefly known in the history of education for his *Etymologies* (*Etymologiarum libri xx*), a dictionary or encyclopedia of general knowledge, sacred and profane, which was the source book of information for centuries afterward. The book begins with grammar and contains treatises on all manner of subjects. Another work, *Differentiarum libri ii*, was a useful dictionary of words, synonyms, etc. His *Rules for Monks* was also of considerable influence.[1]

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[1] Regula Monarchorum. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*

CHAPTER X

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION

From the Patristic Period to the Carlovingian Revival

The school which undertook in a specific manner to train young men for the various clerical offices was the **Episcopal** or **Cathedral school,** so called because it was originally maintained in the household of the bishop (episcopus), or at the cathedral of the diocese. In the earliest of these schools the bishops personally instructed and trained the young clerics, but in the fourth or fifth century, with the growth of the Church and the increasing number of her monasteries, the school was enlarged and the work of teaching was delegated by the bishop to a special cleric called the *scholasticus.* It not infrequently happened that converted rhetoricians and grammarians, who had previously been teachers in the public schools, continued their profession in these Episcopal schools. With their accession the curriculum was broadened and the institution developed, as in Gaul, into a great public school. It thenceforth served the purpose not only of a seminary of clerics but also of a higher school or academy of Christian learning.

Episcopal schools grew in number with the spread of the Christian faith and the establishment of new episcopal sees. An idea of their extent can be obtained from the fact that in 614 there were 112 bishoprics in Frankland alone and during the Middle Ages each cathedral seat had

its school.[1] They were, as a rule, the leading schools of a diocese and the models for schools in smaller communities. Some of the early episcopal schools were those of Rome, Carthage, Arles, and from the sixth century onward, those of Paris, Poitiers, Le Mans, Clermont, Rheims, Orleans, York, many of which continued throughout the Middle Ages.

Instruction was confined at first to those studies demanded by the preparation of the future priest or cleric for service in the Church, and for championing the cause of Christianity against the attacks of pagan adversaries. It embraced the sacred sciences of Scripture and theology; later, literary and philosophical studies were included. In some of the schools of Gaul, besides the Latin and Greek classics, there were advanced studies in Sacred Scripture, philosophy and mathematics. The school of St. Hilary at Arles was of this standard and from it came learned bishops and churchmen. The school of York, one of the famous cathedral schools of England, offered instruction in the liberal arts and law. The episcopal school was, however, essentially a training school where the virtues necessary to the leaders of the faithful were inculcated, and where the moral and spiritual formation of the student was of paramount importance.

Toward the close of the period under consideration, in the time of Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz (742–766), the canonical life was instituted at the episcopal sees, *i.e.*, the bishop lived in community with his clerics or canons. The school profited by this better organization of clerical life at the diocesan centers.

At the episcopal sees, the **Song schools** were also established in order to prepare youth for participation in the

[1] Cubberly, *Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education*, i, 59.

services of the Church. Pope Gregory the Great (540–604) had founded the Schola Cantorum at Rome, and bishops wherever possible imitated his example, so that finally the Song school came to be maintained at the cathedral as regularly as the grammar school. It is noteworthy that in these schools the elements of learning were taught, and not merely singing.

Parish schools also were organized in this period. At Edessa as early as the middle of the second century, the priest Protogenes taught the children of his parish reading, writing, singing, and the elements of Christian doctrine.[1]

The Fathers assembled at the Council of Vaison, Gaul, 529, urged the priests of their jurisdiction to maintain schools in their houses in imitation of the custom already prevalent in Italy and there producing good results. We can see from the language of the council that the chief aim of the bishops was the preparation of young men for offices in the Church, not necessarily for the priesthood. The students were free to leave and enter the married state.[2]

The institution which was destined to exert a most profound influence on education during the Middle Ages was the **Monastic school.** Monasticism had arisen in the East, and long before the state schools of the Roman Empire had disappeared the cenobites and the monks had engaged in educational pursuits. They not only taught those who were to become monks, but received children solely for their Christian education and training. As the Church was only then emerging from the persecutions into freedom, she could not usually maintain schools, and

[1] Stöckl. *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, 78. Mainz, 1876.

[2] Mansi. *Collectio Amplissima Conciliorum*, vol. 8. Parisiis, 1901.

those then existing, that is, the pagan and Jewish schools, offered many dangers to the faith of Christian youth. It is true that many of the early fathers, like St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzus, St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, had attended the public schools and even taught in them; nevertheless, parents were conscious of the dangers and desired to confide their children to the care of religious for their education. This was not, of course, always possible, for the monastery was primarily instituted as a house of prayer and retreat and not as a school. Provision was gradually made, however, for the systematic instruction of the young. The Rules of St. Basil and St. Pachomius show how early this was done in the East.[1] For the West we note that bishops like St. Caesarius of Arles (470–543) and his successors were obliged to determine the age at which children might be received into the cloisters of men and women because of the eagerness of parents to place them there.

Monasticism received its great impetus in the West from St. Benedict, who established the order which bears his name at Subiaco, Italy, in 528. When he issued his rule or constitution a few years later, it was almost immediately adopted by the monasteries of Europe. It was carried into Gaul by St. Maur, into Spain by St. Martin of Deume, and into England by St. Augustine. In this rule, called the constitution of Monasticism, reading, prayer, and labor were the occupation of the monks. Manual labor consumed much of the day, but at stated hours, especially on Sundays, the reading exercise was of obligation. Monks in the beginning were mostly laymen. It is interesting to note in the rule the injunctions for sacred reading, and the frequent quotations from Scripture, with which the

[1] Migne. *Patrologia Gr. xxix*; *Patrologia Lat. xxiii.*

monks from their reading and psalm singing were necessarily familiar.

St. Benedict wrote his rule about the year 530 and revised it before his death in 543. It provides in its 73 chapters for the organization and administration of the monastery, from the election of the Abbot to the punishment of offenders. Its many beautiful expressions, its inspiration to the monks for the highest motives in their lives, are unfortunately not as familiar as the provisions for the punishment of delinquents and offenders. That the monk was able to read is presumed by chapter 48 on the daily labor of the monks. Before one could be received or professed as a monk, he must be instructed in the rudiments of knowledge.

"Idleness is an enemy of the soul; and hence at certain seasons the brethren ought to occupy themselves in the labour of their hands and at other times in holy reading." The time for reading is disposed according to the seasons, as, for instance, from Easter to the first of October, and from the first of October to the beginning of Lent. "During Lent, let them apply themselves to reading from morning until the end of the third hour, and then, until the end of the tenth labour at whatever is enjoined of them. And in these days of Lent let each one receive a book from the library, and read it all through in order. . . . On Sunday, let all occupy themselves in reading, except those who have been appointed to the various offices. But if anyone should be so negligent and slothful as to be either unwilling or unable to study or to read, let some task be given him to do, that he be not idle."[1]

The monasteries of Gaul and of Ireland were especially famous for learning in the early Middle Ages. During the seventh and eighth centuries, students from England and the Continent went in great numbers to the Irish monas-

[1] *Rule of St. Benedict*, chap. xlviii. Edited by D. O. Hunter Blair. London, 1907.

teries. They were hospitably received, and according to the Venerable Bede, writing of the English noblemen who went there, "The Scots willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching gratis."[1] Some great Irish monasteries of the early period were those of Armagh and Kildare of the fifth century; of Clonard, Clonfert, Clonmacnoise, Bangor and Glendalough of the sixth; Lismore, Cork and Ross in the seventh. It is believed that they differed in organization and rule from the Benedictine monasteries, being rather of the order of canons regular.[2]

The rule of St. Benedict imposed on all the monks the duties of prayer, reading and manual labor. Some of the early fathers of the monastic life like St. Maur interpreted this provision in favor of wider educational pursuits. Besides the instruction of the novices, which was a necessary function of the monastery, the copying of manuscripts, study and literary work became approved occupations of the monks. Cassiodorus, who continued his literary works in the cloister, had great influence on the early Benedictines in this respect. The product of the monastery was then both the missionary like St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, zealous for the spread of the Gospel and the benefits of learning among barbarian peoples, and the scholar, like Venerable Bede, who throughout his long life never ceased to study and to write.

In the Monastic school, which was primarily intended for young monks, but to which the children of the nobility

[1] *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, iii, c. 27. Translation of J. A. Giles, London, 1892.

[2] Healy, John. *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum; Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars.* Dublin, 1890. Also Catholic Encyclopedia, *Canons Regular.*

and of the poor were also admitted, the instruction was at first simple in character. It embraced reading, writing, arithmetic, singing and the elements of Christian doctrine, with some advanced studies in certain monasteries, especially those of Gaul and Ireland. Eventually the seven liberal arts constituted the curriculum of the fully developed monastic school. The discipline was from the modern viewpoint severe but not harsh. The young were trained that they might lead exemplary Christian lives, either in the cloister or in the world. Although the controlling aim of education was moral and religious, it was not entirely "otherworldly" as the rules of the monks show. Instruction and discipline were under the direction of the religious especially designated by the abbot or superior. The fuller development of monastic education will be shown later, when considering it in connection with the work of Charlemagne and his successors. The school of the monastery then included two distinct departments, one for interns, those who intended to become monks, and another for externs, those who were to return to the world upon the completion of their education.

DOMESTIC EDUCATION

Institutional training by no means embraced all that was contemplated in the educational scheme of the Christian Church. In the home the real beginnings of Christian education were made, and the responsibility of parents in this respect was constantly emphasized in the early Middle Ages. The Christian mother was exhorted to follow the example of Laeta, whom St. John commended for teaching her children to walk in the truth; or to imitate the holy women: St. Emmelia, mother of St. Basil; St. Nonna,

mother of St. Gregory Nazianzus; and St. Anthusa, mother of St. John Chrysostom. The letters of the Fathers and the decrees of the early councils of the Church exhorted parents to be faithful to this duty. The home, then, practically supplied the moral training, when the Church because of persecutions and poverty could not maintain schools. With the decline of fervor and piety in the domestic circle, and the neglect of careful home training, the sending of the children to the monasteries was unhesitatingly recommended by the Fathers of the Church.

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CHAPTER XI

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION—(Continued)

From the Carlovingian Revival to Scholasticism

In the eighth and ninth centuries the educational conditions of Europe were greatly improved by the efforts of Charlemagne and his successors, and by Alfred the Great in England. **Charlemagne** had a very efficient agent for the revival he undertook in **Alcuin,** the former scholasticus of the cathedral school of York, whom he secured in 782 to conduct his palace school.

Alcuin brought teachers with him from York and with their assistance organized in the palace a sort of academy. Charlemagne, the queen, his sister and his children, the courtiers, and sons of noblemen were the first pupils. The academy was much more advanced in its instruction than the palace school of the Merovingian period. The liberal arts, as studied in the cathedral school of York, were taught there, but under serious difficulties on account of the widely differing qualifications of the students. Alcuin and his assistants succeeded with the school, and in a short time extended their influence over the Empire, for Alcuin was appointed by Charlemagne to act in the capacity of a state minister of education. He was responsible in great measure for the success of the educational revival.

In 787 Charlemagne issued a capitulary to all of the abbots and bishops of Frankland, urging them to promote the spread of study and the work of teaching in their respective communities. This was the first of the imperial

orders, and the beginning of a real movement in the interests of learning. In the capitulary he deplored the decline of letters and literary studies, and urged that measures be taken for the better preparation of teachers. He said in part:

"During recent years we have often received letters from different monasteries, informing us that at their sacred services the brethren offered up prayers on our behalf, and we have observed that the thoughts contained in these letters, though in themselves most just, were expressed in uncouth language, and while pious devotion dictated the sentiments, the unlettered tongue was unable to express them aright. Hence there has arisen in our minds the fear lest, if the skill to write correctly were thus lacking, so too would the power of rightly comprehending the Sacred Scriptures be far from fitting, and we all know that if verbal errors be dangerous, errors of the understanding are much more so. We exhort you, therefore, not only not to neglect the study of letters, but to apply yourselves thereto with perseverance and with that humility which is well pleasing to God, so that you may be able to penetrate with greater ease and certainty the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures. For, as these contain images, tropes, and similar figures, it is impossible to doubt that the reader will arrive far more readily at the spiritual sense, according as he is better instructed in learning. Let therefore, there be chosen for this work men who are both able and willing to learn, and who are desirous of instructing others, and let them apply themselves to the work with a zeal equalling the earnestness with which we recommend it to them. It is our wish that you may be what it behooves the soldiers of the Church to be—religious in heart, learned in discourse and eloquent in speech. . . ." [1]

This capitulary was followed in 789 by others of a practical nature, affecting the preparation of monks and clerics, and ordering the establishment of a school for boys in every monastery and episcopal see, where they would be taught reading, singing, arithmetic and gram-

[1] Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xcviii, 859. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Legum* ii, *Capitul.* i, 79.

mar.[1] A capitulary of 802 enjoined that "Everyone should send his son to study letters, and that the child should remain at school with all diligence, until he should become well instructed in learning."[2]

Charlemagne also obtained special instructors from Rome, whom he sent to different monasteries to assist in carrying out the reform. His measures met with co-operation on the part of the bishops in many of the important sees and the abbots in the large monasteries. **Bishop Theodulf** of Orleans had an excellent episcopal school. A scholar and poet, this bishop extended his efforts further than his own episcopal seat, for he ruled that all the priests of his diocese should keep schools in their parishes. His decree is famous in the history of education for its beautiful expression in behalf of free elementary education for the poor. It reappears in church councils throughout the Middle Ages. It is as follows:

"Let the priests keep schools in the villages and towns, and if any of the faithful wish to give his little ones to learning they ought willingly to receive them and teach them gratuitously, remembering what has been written: 'They that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity.' And let them exact no price from the children for their teaching, nor receive anything from them save what the parents may offer voluntarily and from affection." [3]

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[1] Et ut scolae legentium puerorum fiant; psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopias et libros Catholicos bene emendate (emendatos); quia saepe dum bene aliquid Deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male rogant. Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xcvii, 517.

[2] "Ut unusquisque filium suum litteras ad discendum mittat, et ibi cum omni solicitudine permaneat usque dum bene instructus perveniat." Capitula Examinationis Generalis, 12. *Mon. Ger. Hist. Legum*, ii, *Cap.* i, 235.

[3] Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cv, 196.

When Alcuin retired to Tours in 796 the reform was well advanced. What he accomplished at Tours in making the monastery a famous school is a good example of the success of the educational revival he had directed. **Louis the Pious** continued the revival of his father Charlemagne, with the assistance of Rhabanus Maurus and St. Benedict of Aniane. During his reign the law was passed (817) for maintaining at each monastery the school for interns, *schola interior*, and the school for externs, *schola exterior;* the first for those who were to become monks, and the second for those studying for the secular priesthood and the laity. Until then all the students had lived together, and when large numbers congregated much annoyance was suffered by the monks, who desired that the cloister be free of noise and distractions. The law provided that no school should be maintained in the cloister unless for those who were oblates, *i.e.*, those offered for the religious life. "Ut schola in monasterio non habeatur nisi eorum qui oblati sunt."[1] Provision had to be made for those excluded from the inner monastery and this was done by opening schools which were placed outside of the enclosure or inner monastery, and called schools for externs. In the architects' plan for the monastery of St. Gall, Switzerland, designed in the ninth century, the exact location of this school can be seen.[2]

The Cathedral schools also opened inner and outer departments as a result of ecclesiastical legislation. It was decided at the Council of Aachen, 816 (817?), that separate schools were necessary for the students of the canonicate, and in a short time after the law was passed,

[1] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Legum* ii, *Capitul.* i, 346.

[2] Keller, *Bauriss des Klosters St. Gallen*, 23. Zurich, 1844. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, 37. Stuttgart, 1885.

schools for externs, *i.e.*, for those not preparing for the canonical life of the cathedral, were established. An excellent example of this arrangement was that of the cathedral of Rheims, where in the ninth century Archbishop Fulk restored the two schools to their former prestige.[1]

The abbots and bishops cooperated with the civil authorities in behalf of the schools throughout the entire ninth century. In the monastery was the free school, where board and clothing were gratuitously given as, for instance, in the monastery of St. Peter in Salzburg; and in the cathedral was found another type of the public school, as for example at Langres, where Bishop Betto founded his free school. This bishop established other free schools in his episcopal city and diocese. Certain large cities had both the monastic and the cathedral schools. Some of the notable schools in France were: Orleans, Arles, Lyons, Tours, Rheims, Soissons, Metz, Verdun, Liège; in Germany, Hildesheim, Speyer, Cologne, Mainz; in England, York and Canterbury. Famous monastic schools were Tours, St. Germain d'Auxerre, St. Germain-des-Prés, St. Denis at Paris, St. Benedict on the Loire, St. Liffard in the diocese of Orleans, St. Riquier, St. Martin at Metz, St. Bertin in the diocese of Cambrai, St. Benedict of Aniane in the diocese of Montpellier, Fulda, St. Alban near Mainz, Seligenstadt, Hirschau, St. Gall, Reichenau, and Corbie and New Corbie in Saxony.

An evidence of this widespread movement in the dioceses of the Empire is seen in the canons of councils and other ecclesiastical laws passed during that century. Many bishops followed the example of Theodulf of Orleans, and obliged the clergy to open schools in their parishes. They

[1] *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scriptores* xiii. *Hist. Remen.* iv, 9.

enjoined the priests either to act as teachers themselves or to employ a cleric for that office. When Archbishop Hincmar in the ninth century gave directions to the inspectors of his diocese, he made especial mention of the school. They were to see whether the parish had a cleric who could keep school and participate in the church services by reading the epistle or singing when necessary.[1] Similar laws were made in Orleans, Tours, and at a Council of Rome called by Pope Eugenius II in 853, the establishment of schools in all of the episcopal sees and subject cities, was ordered—schools for the study of letters and the liberal arts as well as theology.[2]

In England an educational revival was also undertaken by **King Alfred the Great** (849–900). He was himself solicitous for the spread of culture and by his translations of Latin works into English encouraged the practice of reading. He brought learned monks from St. Bertin of Rheims and Corbie, and commissioned them to improve the monastic schools of his realm. At the Court he saw to it that study was encouraged, and one of his sons, according to the historian Asser, "He entrusted to the school of literary training (Grammar School), with the children of almost all of the nobility of the country and many also who were not noble, under the diligent care of masters. In that school books in both languages, Latin and Saxon, were diligently read."[3] Many of the nobility who had neglected the liberal arts were urged by his example to study and acquire skill in reading. Some

[1] "Si habeat clericum, qui posset tenere scholam, aut legere epistolam, aut canere valeat, prout necessarium videtur." Capitula presbyteris data, xi, Mansi, *Coll. Con.* xv, 480.

[2] Canon xxxiv.

[3] Asserius, *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi*, 75. Edited by W. H. Stevenson. Oxford, 1904.

found it necessary to do so in order to obtain the royal favor.

In the ecclesiastical law of England during the ninth and tenth centuries priests were enjoined to keep parish schools and, furthermore, to keep schools for school-teachers.

"Priests ought always to have schools for school-teachers in their houses, and if any of the faithful wish to give his little ones to learning they ought willingly to receive them and teach them gratuitously, remembering what has been written: 'They that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity.' But they ought not to expect anything from their relatives except what they wish to do of their own accord."[1]

During King Edgar's reign (957–975) the priests were also urged to teach the boys of their parishes the manual arts, or crafts. Two important ecclesiastical canons read: "And that the priest do moreover teach manual arts with diligence;" "And that the priest diligently instruct youth and dispose them to trades that they may have a support to the Church.[2]" St. Dunstan (924–988), Bishop successively of Worcester, London and Canterbury, was a skilled craftsman in metal, wood and ivory, and was always deeply interested in the schools. So much beloved was he by the pupils of his schools that he is often spoken of as the patron of English school-boys.

In this period of the Middle Ages the monastic school rose to a higher plane than at any previous time, and entered upon that stage which immediately prepared for the

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Brittaniae et Hiberniae*, i, 270. Londini, 1737. Cf. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents*, 39. Cambridge, 1911.

[2] Johnson, J. *Collection of the Ecclesiastical Canons, etc., of the Church of England*, i, Canons of 960, Nos. 11 and 51. London, 1720. Cf. Mansi. *Coll. Con.* xva, 513, 517.

universities. A better idea consequently can be obtained of its organization and studies than in the time before Charlemagne. With its development a staff of teachers, instead of one or two, were employed, and the curriculum, especially in the large monasteries, embraced a wide range of studies. It comprised the seven liberal arts, and in many of the large schools it included law, medicine, the fine arts and the industrial arts.

The **Seven Liberal Arts,** or those studies which formed the elements of a liberal education, consisted of the Trivium or language subjects, *i.e.*, grammar, dialectic and rhetoric, and the Quadrivium or the mathematical subjects, *i.e.*, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. Grammar included a study of the elements of language and Latin literature. There were many text-books for this subject, Donatus and Priscian leading in popularity; they were the basis of many later works. The treatises on the seven liberal arts contained special sections on grammar, *e.g.*, those of Capella, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Alcuin and Rhabanus Maurus. The most famous of the later texts in grammar was the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei (de Villedieu), written in 1199 and in verse. The association of grammar with literature constantly aimed at and well achieved in the older texts lends support to the well established view that the Latin classics never ceased to be read in the early and later Middle Ages. Priscian, for example, quotes Vergil's *Æneid* 700 times; none could use such a grammar or Donatus and be ignorant of the literature on which they were based. Dialectic embraced the art of reasoning or logic. It became a most attractive subject to pupils even before the university period. The text for it as well as for rhetoric was Boethius.[1] Rhetoric,

[1] See page 84.

the art of expression or oratory, later embraced history and law. Arithmetic or computation dealt with the qualities of numbers and operations and was considerably advanced in the tenth century owing to the introduction of Arabic notation into Europe. The text for arithmetic and music was also Boethius. Music included notation and singing, also the theory and history of music; geometry, the study of Euclid and geography; astronomy, the computation of the Church calendar, which was to some degree associated with astrology but included also higher mathematical calculations and physics. Our account of the scholastic movement will show what detailed studies under the natural sciences and philosophy were offered in the monastic schools even before the establishment of the universities. The monks were also practitioners as well as teachers of the arts and sciences, serving their fellow men as skilled physicians, lawyers, architects, sculptors and craftsmen. With the rise of the great schools like Salerno and Bologna, which became universities, law and medicine declined as studies in the cloister, but the monks were still identified with the study of both sciences and for a considerable time with the practice of them.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

The education of women was provided for in the convent and parish schools. For those who were to become nuns there was a definite training in reading, writing and the elements of learning. In the rule of St. Caesarius of Arles (†543) the nuns were ordered to spend two hours every morning in pious reading. They were skilled copyists also. "Wattenbach, a student of manuscripts and the medieval art of writing, has collected a number of names of women

whom he has found mentioned as scribes. He gives them, adding the remark that other books no doubt were written by nuns where mention of the fact is omitted."[1] Similar regulations are found in the rules for nuns compiled by St. Aurelian, St. Donatus and St. Leander.[2] The English nuns, St. Lioba, St. Thecla and St. Walburga who labored with St. Boniface in Germany, organized schools for girls. In the cloisters of women there were the two departments for interns and externs, *i. e.*, for the novices and the laity. It is noteworthy that young girls were there instructed in the useful and household arts.

"In some departments of art industry, especially in weaving church hangings and embroidering altar cloths and church vestments, nuns greatly distinguished themselves. In his comprehensive work on church furniture, Bock is eloquent on the industry of nuns. He has praised their early proficiency in the art of weaving and passed on to the art of embroidery. 'This art also,' he says, 'was chiefly cultivated in religious houses by pious nuns up to the twelfth century. The inmates of women's establishments were especially devoted to working decorations for the altar. Their peaceful seclusion was spent in prayer and in doing embroidery. What work could seem worthier and nobler than artistic work intended for the decoration of the altar? It is in the nunnery that the art of design as well as the technique of weaving were brought to their highest perfection.'"[3]

The nuns conducted schools for the young boys and girls of the villages and cities where they were located, and also engaged in higher instruction in the seven liberal arts. "Some of the houses ruled by women, like so many of those ruled by men, became important centres of culture where the industrial arts were taught and where books were prized, stored and multiplied. Nuns as well as monks were

[1] Eckenstein, *Women under Monasticism*, 223. Cambridge, 1896.
[2] Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, 259. Stuttgart, 1885.
[3] Eckenstein, 224.

busy transcribing manuscripts, a task as absorbing as it was laborious, for the difficulties in the way of learning to write can hardly be overestimated, considering the awkwardness of writing materials and the labor involved in fabricating parchment, ink and pigment; but, as the old writer with a play on the words *Armarium*, bookcase, and *Armatorium*, armoury, remarks, 'A monastery without its bookcase is what a castle is without its armoury.' And all houses, whether for monks or nuns, take rank as centers of culture in proportion to their wealth in books."[1]

Learned women of this period were St. Dodana of the ninth century, who wrote a manual on education for her son; St. Odilia who founded a school for girls in Hohenburg; St. Hildegarde (†1179), the learned abbess and authoress of *Hortus Deliciarum*, *Garden of Delights*, an encyclopedic work containing much of the knowledge of her time; Gisla, sister of Charlemagne; Gundrade, Charlemagne's cousin, who was interested in astronomy and philosophy; Judith, wife of Louis the Pious; Irmindrud, wife of Charles the Bald; Queen Matilda, who taught all her household, including the servants; Queen Adelheid, the Patroness of Gerbert, who was deeply learned, and others of noble rank whose names have often been preserved to us in books or writings which were dedicated to them. In the smaller village and parish schools we know also that young girls were received as pupils, for the Bishop of Soissons in 889 ordered them to be kept apart from the boys. In the latter part of the Middle Ages, many more evidences attest the fact of systematic provision for the education of women.

[1] Eckenstein, 223.

CHIVALRY

From the time of Charlemagne, when cavalry supplanted infantry in warfare and the feudal lords depended upon their freemen for supporters and defenders, the chivalric movement gradually developed until in the tenth and eleventh centuries the career of a knight was the leading calling of a layman. Chivalry had two general periods, viz., the heroic or golden age, extending to the period of the crusades; and the age of courtesy extending to the fifteenth century. The ideal knight was the crusader.

A very definite training was devised for the preparation of young men for knighthood, in order that in the development of the skill and competency of the warrior, the virtues of the Christian general should also be acquired. The dignity of knighthood was not hereditary, but only the sons of knights were admitted to the training. The sovereign alone could create a knight when the condition of birth was lacking. The Church participated in the conferring of knighthood by an elaborate ceremony of blessing and prayer, that the motives of the knight in the use of arms might be the highest and purest.

The boy intended for knighthood was entrusted to a feudal lord or prince for his training. He entered the palace at the age of seven or eight as a **page**, and was there made an attendant to the mistress and ladies of the household. He learned obedience and courtesy by actual service, and was taught in the meantime how to read, sing and play chess. At about the age of fourteen he became a **squire** or attendant of the knight, and while he continued his services in the household, at the table, etc., his principal duty was to accompany his master in the field as shield bearer, or *scutarius*. As the squire he was taught the use of

arms, the sword and lance, the management of horses and the virtues becoming the warrior. He discharged these offices until the age of twenty-one, learning the value of service and obedience, practising loyalty and fidelity to his lord, always manifesting politeness, respect for women and reverence for sacred things.

The ceremony of knighting was designed to impress the young knight with the solemnity of his vow and his responsibility before God as a Christian soldier. He was required to prepare for it by prayer, fasting, and confession; after receiving Communion at Mass, he pronounced his solemn vow, "to defend the Church, to attack the wicked, to respect the priesthood, to protect women and the poor, to preserve the country in tranquility and to shed his blood, even to its last drop, in behalf of his brethren." He was given a slight blow on the neck with the sword (the dubbing) in the name of God and St. George, the patron of chivalry.

In the education of the knight, which involved so much that was physical as a preparation for a military career, and so much that was external in politeness and good manners, there was an important character training. The knights were bound by their vows to loyalty and honor and the practice of virtue. That there were many of this type the history of the crusades makes certain; some like St. Louis attained sanctity. The age of courtesy, in which chivalry declined, saw changes in the ideals of the order; the substantial virtues of the earlier knight were supplanted by the manners and decorum of the courtier. The inspiration which chivalry afforded to modern literatures, its elevating and refining influence on the uncultured warriors of the North, its cultivation of the vernacular in song and poetry, its effect in elevating the

position and estimation of women, are points to be noted in the history of European civilization and culture.

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CHAPTER XII

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION—(Continued)

Educators of the Carlovingian Period

In this period there appeared not only a multitude of capable teachers for the various schools, but some educators of rare qualifications. Those most distinguished as scholars and educational writers are here briefly mentioned. Chronologically the first was Alcuin, whose connection with the school of Charlemagne has already been noted. **Alcuin Flaccus Albinus** (735-804) was a deacon when brought from England to the Continent by Charlemagne. In his poem, *On the Bishops and Saints of the Church of York*,[1] he has given a description of the studies pursued in the famous cathedral school and the books in the library. His writings on the seven liberal arts, contained in separate treatises on grammar, rhetoric, etc., although following the lines of earlier writers like St. Augustine and Cassiodorus and contributing little that is new, are important as descriptive of the curriculum actually in use. From these and his poems we derive our views on the teaching of certain subjects, like law, in the cathedral schools. In his work on the *Soul* (*De Animae Ratione*), a psychological treatise, he expounds the views of St. Augustine. He also wrote on theological and scriptural subjects. His influence was greatest as a teacher and administrator both in the palace and in the

[1] *Carmen de pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiae Eboracensis.* **Migne,** *Pat. Lat.* ci, 841.

monastery of Tours, also "as a minister of education to Charles the Great and as the master whose personal teaching stimulated the interest and industry of pupils, men and women of every rank and age."[1]

Rhabanus Maurus (776-856), the disciple of Alcuin, ranks higher as an educational writer than his master. Rhabanus was a monk of Fulda. He was sent by his abbot to complete his education under Alcuin in the monastery of Tours. Upon his return to Fulda he was placed in charge of the school. He eventually became abbot of the monastery and exercised control over some of the largest monasteries and schools in Europe, for Fulda, under his administration, became as famous and powerful as Tours had been under the guidance of Alcuin. "At the time of his elevation as abbot, no less than 16 monasteries and nunneries, either founded by former abbots or affiliated at their own desire, already looked up to Fulda as their parent house. To these Rhabanus added 6 more—those at Corvey, Solenhofen, Celle, Hersfeld, Petersburg and Hirschau; we may accordingly reckon twenty-two societies wherein his authority would be regarded as law, and his teaching be faithfully preserved."[2]

Rhabanus composed for the direction of the clergy and his students a work entitled *De Institutione Clericorum* (*On the Education of the Clergy*) which "has more than once been justly appealed to, as evidence that strongly contravenes the exaggerated representations of certain writers with respect to the ignorance of the clergy in these times. The mere fact that it was compiled to meet a recognized want, and at the request of many of the

[1] Cyclopedia of Education, *Alcuin*. Cf. West, *Alcuin and the Rise of Christian Schools*, New York, 1892. Meier, *Bibliothek der katholischen Pädagogik*, iii, Freiburg, 1890.

[2] Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, 151. London, 1877.

community of Fulda, is alone sufficient proof that the prevailing tone was far from being one of vulgar and illiterate contempt for learning."[1] In the third book of this work Rhabanus treats of study and learning. He adopts St. Augustine's views in regard to pagan literature and treats at length of the seven liberal arts. He is much more original and bolder in his views than Alcuin, and is credited with the distinction of having first used the expression, "Seven Liberal Arts." Another work, *De Universo*, an encyclopedia in twenty-two books, is based on the etymologies of St. Isidore. It deals with everything then known and has been aptly called "A book on everything." It aimed to give the sum of knowledge and was the kind of book needed in the ninth century for the preservation of what knowledge past ages had produced.

The influence of Rhabanus was great as a teacher and churchman. He became in later life, after he had retired into solitude, Archbishop of Mainz which was then one of the most important sees in Europe. His students were distinguished in Church and State, and because of their great number he has been called the Primus Praeceptor Germaniae. Some of the best known for their labors in behalf of learning and religion were **Lupus Servatus,** abbot of Ferrières and devoted student of the Latin classics; **Walafrid Strabo,** abbot of Reichenau, poet and author; **Otfried,** poet and monk, author of *Der Krist* in old High German dialect; **Rudolphus,** teacher of Fulda, and continuator of the annals of Fulda, begun by Einhard; other poets and writers in such numbers that, in the words of one of Rhabanus' biographers, "Wherever, be it in peace or in war, in Church or in State, a prominent actor appears at

[1] Mullinger, op. cit., 143.

this period, we may almost predict beforehand that he will prove to have been a scholar of this great teacher."[1]

A representative of the Irish school is found in **John Scotus Eriugena,** John the Scot (815–?), the details of whose life are very obscure. He assumed charge of the palace school of Charles the Bald about 845 and was one of the most active teachers and greatest thinkers of his time. He was perhaps a priest. Interested chiefly in philosophy and theology, he became identified with the great controversy of the ninth century on predestination. He did much to make dialectic a universal study, and for this is considered by many the first of the schoolmen. He seems rather to be the link connecting the early medieval with scholastic learning.

Eriugena was well versed in Greek philosophy, which he had learned in Ireland. He revived the learned traditions of the Irish, and, as a teacher, made the palace school, which had declined under Louis the Pious, as famous as it had been during the reign of Charlemagne. He translated the works of the "Pseudo-Dionysius" into Latin. Some of his views expressed in *De divisione naturae* and other writings have been condemned by the Church as heretical. He wrote commentaries on the Gospel and also on Martianus Capella. His influence lay in the revival of philosophical interest and the study of the Greek Fathers. Despite his many philosophical errors, Eriugena was the most constructive genius of the century, and "as Anastasius the Roman librarian, described him, 'vir per omnia sanctus.' "[2]

Gerbert, a monk of the tenth century, who was a native of Aquitaine, had a brilliant career as a scholar and teacher.

[1] Spengler, *Leben des heiligen Rhabanus Maurus,* iv. Regensburg, 1856.

[2] Turner, *History of Philosophy,* 257. Boston, 1903.

He became Pope in 999, taking the name of Sylvester II. As a student he had journeyed to Barcelona, Cordova and Seville and there learned the mathematics and sciences taught in the Arabian schools. While visiting Rome with the Spanish bishop, Hatto, he was induced by Pope John XIII and by the Emperor, Otto I, not to return to Spain. He took charge of the cathedral school of Rheims. Like Eriugena, he was well versed in Greek philosophy and was especially in favor of classical studies. He taught the Latin poets and dramatists and was most energetic in founding at Rheims a library of the Latin authors. His quotations from them and references to them in his letters are most frequent. As a teacher he excelled in mathematics; he used a special form of abacus, which with other devices is thought to have been invented by him. He taught successfully music and medicine and was tutor of the young emperor Otto III. Although chosen to be Archbishop of Rheims, his election was declared to be illegal and in 998 he was appointed to the see of Ravenna. In 999 he was raised to the pontificate as the first French pope.

Gerbert wrote various works on philosophical and mathematical subjects. These, with his numerous letters, are of educational value. He has often been credited with having been the first to introduce Arabic numerals in Europe but it now appears that he only used those already in existence. He is also believed to have invented the pendulum clock. Because of his inventions and remarkable skill in the use of mechanical devices, accusations of necromancy were brought against him by the ignorant. His career as a scholar, teacher and churchman, makes clear that the age in which he lived, supposed to be the

darkest in history, was not without its scholars and cultural interests.[1]

MOHAMMEDAN OR SARACEN LEARNING

A brief reference may be made to the influence of Mohammedan learning on medieval education which is especially seen in regard to the studies of the scholastics. This influence was exerted chiefly through the followers of Mohammed in the West, *i.e.*, the Saracens, or as they were called in Spain, the Moors. It began about the time of Gerbert and lasted until the thirteenth century, and was pronounced in mathematics, natural science, medicine and philosophy.

The early followers of Mohammed did very little for science and culture, but in the ninth century, through contact with the Christians of Syria whom they endeavored to convert, Greek learning, especially philosophy, was taken up by the Mohammedans and Greek texts translated into Arabic. Their caliphs, religious leaders, were patrons of learning. Elementary and higher schools were established in the countries ruled by them in the Orient and in the West. Some of their famous higher schools were those of Bagdad, Cairo, Cordova, Granada, Toledo, and Seville. Arabian scholars, although first acquainted with Greek literature through their contact with the Christians of the East, were the translators of Greek mathematical, medical and philosophical works, and were the first to introduce them to Europe; they adopted the Hindu system of notation and algebra which they perfected for the modern world; and they advanced the science of trigonometry. Their achievements in astronomy and geography were

[1] Cf. *Opera.* Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cxxxix.

marvelous. They successfully measured a degree of the earth's surface and therefore learned of the size of the earth, used the pendulum in the measurement of time, and determined the length of the year. They had observatories, and, it is said, employed the globe for teaching geography in the schools. In chemistry and physics their discoveries were of importance, for they are awarded the distinction of discovering nitric acid in the ninth century and sulphuric acid and alcohol in the tenth century. Their alchemists laid the basis of modern chemistry. In medicine and surgery they were also far advanced. The Jewish scholars of their schools were famous practitioners; they knew the properties of many drugs then unknown to the Christian world, and performed remarkable operations in obstetrics and surgery.

The scholastics were chiefly indebted to the Mohammedans for the translations of Greek philosophers and especially Aristotle. Avicenna (980–1037) in the East, although a physician, wrote many philosophical works and followed the doctrines of Aristotle. The Emperor Frederick II had these translated from Arabic into Latin. Avicenna was studied by the great schoolmen as a representative pagan philosopher and authority on Aristotle. Averroës (1126–1198) one of the chief philosophers of this school in the West, a physician like Avicenna, was a native of Cordova. His works embrace treatises on medicine, astronomy, and philosophy, and many commentaries on Aristotle. He "was regarded as greatest of all Arabian commentators of Aristotle."[1]

The Saracens were responsible to a great extent for the medieval interest in the physics of Aristotle. Their in-

[1] Turner, *History of Philosophy*, 313.

fluence was felt during the scholastic and university periods.

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CHAPTER XIII

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION—(Continued)

Scholasticism

Scholasticism as a movement in the history of education has been most frequently studied and appreciated in the period of its decline rather than in the period of its greatness, and the estimate of it has been in consequence far from correct. It has been most familiarly known to English readers for the abuses connected with it rather than for its merits and points of excellence, and the magnificent service which it rendered to science and education has been almost entirely ignored. It is safe to say that no other movement has been more bitterly assailed by the historians of education, and yet for many reasons it deserved sympathetic treatment from them. As its name implies, it was in the first place a movement of the schools, and its leaders, Schoolmen; it was a movement of immense proportions extending over the entire Middle Ages from Boethius to Erasmus, from the sixth to the sixteenth century, including the whole educational theory produced in that wide range of time, and all of the educational institutions, some of which have never been surpassed, and surviving in its effects to the present time; it produced a library of educational literature, and an army of educators, who, while differing widely in the various stages of the movement, were united by a common name and profession. Its representatives were the practical teachers and administrators of educational institutions, writers on educational

theory and practice, possessors of a well-defined system of schools. To obtain a fair idea of the general movement, and to appreciate the signal efforts of its leaders, it seems proper to view scholasticism in the period of its glory, when its brilliant lights illumined the academic world, and its institutions dominated the educational field—in the period from St. Bernard in the twelfth century to William of Occam in the fourteenth.

The name "Scholastic" is an old term which comes from the *Scholasticus*, or head-master in the cathedral school, a title given to head-masters generally in the Middle Ages, and eventually to their system of teaching, *e.g.*, scholastic philosophy, theology, etc. It is well to emphasize this fact: that all were teachers, not merely theorists; and, using the empirical standard of modern times which tries everything in the fire of the educational laboratory, the schoolroom, the schoolmen should thereby stand high in favor.

In the twelfth century the scholastics were of two distinct classes, the mystics or contemplatives, and the rationalists; the one represented in education by **Hugh of St. Victor,** and the other by **Peter Abelard.** The former, a teacher and canon regular of the school of St. Victor, Paris, was the author of a unique student's manual.[1] He is the spokesman of the mystics, and of those schoolmen who opposed the narrow educational views of the disciples of Abelard. The latter, as is well known, gave an undue importance to logic in education, and deprecated the utility of other studies in the liberal arts. The mystics, as represented by Hugh, maintained the necessity of a fuller educational scheme. They contended that the arts course by its content and training would give a proper preparation for the study of logic.[2] The work of Hugh,

[1] *Eruditionis didascalicae libri septem.* Migne, *Pat. Lat.* clxxvi, 759.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii, 3.

intended to develop in students orderly habits of study, treated all the subjects of the curriculum and discussed the methods of study. In the pedagogical phraseology of the present time we would say Hugh pointed out the unity and correlation of all knowledge, the mutual relationship of all the studies, discussed the utility of analysis and synthesis in the art of study, emphasized the principle that learning proceeds from the known to the unknown, and, in short while producing a book helpful as a guide to students, discussed educational theory and method. For this reason he has been spoken of as the only educational theorist excepting Gerson in the Middle Ages, an inaccuracy, it is true, but one containing a tribute to his preeminence in this early period. Another work attributed to him, *On the Vanity of the World*, contains a description of a school in which the students are engaged in copying manuscripts and in studying herbs, physiology and anatomy; and while we know that he belittles many of these studies in comparison with the divine sciences, his testimony to their exsistence in the schools is very valuable.[1]

Vincent of Beauvais (†1264), a Dominican friar, contemporary and friend of St. Thomas, is a representative of the scholastic educators in another sense. He also wrote for the benefit of students, but in a manner quite different from that of Hugh of St. Victor. The friend of King Louis IX, he was a member of the royal household and if not the tutor, at least the director of the education of the King's children. He conceived the plan of presenting the student world with a trustworthy compendium of learning. He deplored the condition of books, which through the ignorance and carelessness of copyists were incorrect and unreliable, particularly in regard to the wisdom inherited

[1] *De vanitate mundi.* Migne, *Pat. Lat.* clxxvi, 701.

from the past. He contemplated producing not only a book of universal knowledge, an encyclopedia, but one whose information would be accurate, taken from original sources and carefully transcribed. King Louis supported him in the project, and gave him every opportunity to procure books and copyists for his working library. The work appeared after several years of patient labor, bearing the title of *Speculum Majus*, the *Great Mirror*, a truly great work of its kind, and which, with another notable treatise, should insure a place for Vincent among the most serviceable educators of the period.

The *Speculum Majus* is representative of that class of scholastic educators who, while as orthodox as Hugh of St. Victor, were interested in all science and learning, in all that referred to God, to His creatures and to nature, and who believed that by learning and education God was glorified. Vincent believed in the unification of knowledge. Although his work incorporated information on thousands of subjects taken from a multitude of authors, ancient and modern, he believed there was one body of knowledge, as there was one system of philosophy. His purpose in the work was to make God better known both in Himself and in His creatures, visible and invisible, and thereby inflame the sacred fire of love for Him in all hearts; and also to help the preacher, lecturer, controversialist and student, in the explanation of practically all the philosophical, moral and scientific problems of the time. This was to be done by placing before them the wisdom of the great doctors, poets, philosophers, Christian and pagan, making accessible to all what the past had thought and written.

One can see by the introduction that Vincent was obliged to prove the worthiness and necessity of his work.

He had many critics who distrusted his plan, or objected to many of its aspects; some thought it too new, others inadequate for the purpose in mind, and others disapproved of his extensive consideration of the natural sciences. He answered them in the preface, and it would seem that he forever silenced criticism by the excellence and the usefulness of the book.

The *Speculum Majus* has three parts, the *Speculum Naturale*, *Speculum Doctrinale*, and *Speculum Historiale*, which altogether contain 80 books in 9,885 chapters. It may be interesting to point out some of the topics treated in each part, and especially those with which the medieval student is seldom thought to have been concerned. The *Speculum Naturale*, or *Mirror of Nature*, treats of theology, psychology, physiology, zoology, botany, cosmography, mineralogy, physics, and agriculture. One is astounded at the number and variety of subjects included under natural science, on all of which Vincent had gathered information. It is curious perhaps to find theology there, but nature is treated as the work of God's creation; in fact, the very method of treatment is based on the order of creation; for instance, on the fourth day, when the sun and moon were created, he considers all of the heavenly bodies, eclipses, seasons, etc.; and on the sixth day, when God created animals and man, he discusses the types and species of animals then known, down to reptiles and insects, and man both as to body and soul, his faculties, reason, ideas, emotions, etc.; he also gives a detailed description of the human body.

If we recall that he compiled these data, when Albertus Magnus was lecturing and writing on studies in physics and the natural order, and Roger Bacon was absorbed in his experiments, we realize how incorrect is the assertion

that the scholastics abandoned everything else for the study of philosophy and theology. The knowledge of nature which the scholastics had, and the method they advocated for its study, are not well enough known. They did not collectively embrace the study of the natural sciences, nor did they learn as fruitfully of them as later generations of scholars, but they were deeply interested in natural phenomena, and they studied nature by observation, by experiment, and by the inductive method. Albertus Magnus has said in his *De vegetalibus et plantis*, wherein he describes and catalogues all the trees, plants and herbs known in his time, "All that is here set down is the result of our own experience, or has been borrowed from authors, whom we know to have written what their personal experience has confirmed: for in these matters experience alone can give certainty."[1] Albert was a great botanist and geographer, and a fine example of the medieval scholar who sought scientific explanations of natural phenomena and who, in more than one instance, surprises us with real anticipations of modern discoveries. They may be called deductions or speculations, but they were remarkable for their sagacity and conformity with the facts of later experience. All that was known then of natural science Vincent of Beauvais included with natural philosophy under the title of the *Mirror of Nature*.

The second part, *Speculum Doctrinale*, or *Mirror of Doctrine*, treats of logic, rhetoric, poetry, geometry, as-

[1] "Earum autem quas ponemus, quasdam quidem nos experimento probamus. Quasdam autem referimus ex dictis eorum, quos comperimus non de facili aliqua dicere nisi probata per experimentum. *Experimentum enim solum certificat in talibus*, eo quod tam de particularibus naturis simile haberi non potest." D. Alberti Magni *Opera Omnia*, vol. x; *De vegetalibus et plantis*, vi, i, 1. Borgnet: Parisiis, 1891. Cf. Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, 420. London, 1881.

tronomy, the instincts, the passions, education, the industrial and mechanical arts, anatomy, surgery, medicine, jurisprudence, and the administration of justice; in short, it is a collection of brief chapters on the subjects of the curriculum of the Middle Ages, *i.e.*, on the seven liberal arts, and also on the faculties of man concerned in education, the senses, the emotions, the intellect. It is a thesaurus of information for the increasingly popular studies of law and medicine, which were then contending for supremacy in the schools. One notes that many questions of an educational nature are treated there and views expressed which refer to heated discussions of that great century. To meet some of the criticisms against the manner and plan of his work, he defends, like Hugh of St. Victor, the study of literature, of philosophy, the liberal arts, the sciences, as necessary and useful for theology and for all the purposes of Christian society and the Church; he pleads in behalf of a liberal education, which in his judgment is one of the divinely appointed means for the regeneration of fallen man. He, therefore, treats of the subjects it includes, and offers many valuable recommendations as to methods and study plans.

The *Speculum Historiale*, or *Mirror of History*, forms the third part and is a history of the world from creation down to A. D. 1250. The author wanted to do for historical knowledge what he proposed to do for all the other sciences, *i. e.*, to give the student in a compendious form the important facts of the past—an indication that history was then a more real and profitable study than later, in the Renaissance, when historians were often read less for their content than for their literary style. The *Speculum Majus* consequently constitutes for its day the sum of knowledge.

It was for the student what an encyclopedia and text-book would be to-day, and its influence was considerable.

In another treatise, *De eruditione filiorum regalium*, *On the Instruction of Princes*, more of the educator's theory is to be found. This was addressed to Louis IX, King of France, and Thibaut, King of Navarre, both of whom had urged Vincent to write on the subject. Like the other numerous treatises on the training of princes, *de regimine principum*, it was intended for wider reading. It embodies Vincent's views and the result of his experience in private teaching. Like the similar treatises of Colonna, of Denis the Carthusian, of Pope Pius II, and many others of the later Middle Ages, it provides an example of an important form of educational literature, in which the old Roman type of training, as sanctioned by the Christian Fathers, received its exposition and defense. It aspired to make the prince a leader in learning and culture, as he was in power. The writings of Denis and those of the later period are especially important for the truly Christian spirit which the scholastics as well as the humanists desired in every phase of education.

Among the writings of the great schoolmen, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, and Occam, are to be found many treatises of educational value, as, for instance, those of Albertus on geography, cosmography, plants and animals, of which some were contributions to their respective sciences, while others would more properly rank as text-books rather than educational treatises. They were the practical books needed by the schools, and even the manuals of the students. The writers aimed in them to extend the field of science, and especially to make knowledge accessible. Erudition being the ideal in education, works appeared aiming to give the

sum of knowledge, just as among institutions there arose the school of learning in which the whole range of the sciences was to be taught, viz., the university.

Some did, however, like Hugh of St. Victor, examine the theoretical side of education. In the *Quaestiones Disputatae* of St. Thomas is a treatise entitled *De Magistro, On the Teacher*, which may be cited as an excellent example of the scholastic theory and philosophy of education. In it questions fundamental to the process of learning are treated, not so much in relation to method as to the psychological processes involved. St. Thomas bases the work of education upon the principles which serve as the foundation for his system of philosophy. His theory on the acquisition of knowledge, the origin of ideas, is applied to the deepest aspects of the educative process. The divine influence in the acquisition of knowledge—for all knowledge comes from God and its first elements are deposited in man as *rationes seminales*—and in the whole process of learning, is scientifically expressed by St. Thomas both in regard to the teacher and the pupil. The teacher's office in cooperating with God in the process is consequently of the highest dignity.

St. Thomas, like all medieval educators, is concerned with the qualifications of the teacher, but he exacts a finer intellectual equipment than most others. His teacher must have not only the moral qualifications always insisted upon by the Christian educational writers, but he must have an intimate knowledge of mental processes, the functions of the senses, emotions, etc., for his work is to assist in the development of the pupil's capacities, in the unfolding of the youthful powers. He did not urge self-activity on the part of the pupil: his system everywhere assumes

that, for with him the process of learning is "growth in self-activity."

While these are only indications of the principles expressed in *De Magistro* it may be stated here that the work is an excellent embodiment of scholastic philosophy applied to education. As to the process of education, it may be surprising to learn that according to St. Thomas, "Education is no mere imparting or infusion: it is rather a solicitation, suggestion, and direction, by which the mind is prompted to exert its natural power in normal ways. . . . While chief stress is laid upon the development of intellectual functions, due notice is taken of the subordinate faculties. Sense, imagination and memory cooperate both in the acquisition of knowledge and its retention. Their importance is clearly shown by St. Thomas when he declares that they account for individual differences in mental capacity." The physical side of men deserved attention for this reason and also because "Vigor of mind corresponds to soundness of body, so that the healthier organism ensures superior intellectual attainment."[1]

On such philosophical theory is based the scholastic science of education; on these principles their methods rested. If we supplement the above treatises with the many writings of the great schoolmen on the mind, the soul, the functions of the emotions, and on psychology generally, we have no mean body of educational thought; and since all of these scholars were teachers it is proper to assume that their theories got concrete application. They were daily expounding their views in accordance with their principles, and eventually developed the method associated with their name, the scholastic method.

[1] Cf. Pace, *St. Thomas' Theory of Education;* Catholic University Bulletin, viii, 290-303.

The scholastics sought to institute a harmony between philosophy and revelation, between the principles of logic and the truths of faith. Philosophy and theology came to be their leading studies when the Master of Reason, Aristotle, was made the servant of Christian Truth, and his logic adopted as the means for establishing the reconciliation between reason and faith. The method when fully developed, although it differed slightly in many authors, embodied certain elements of procedure. There was always the thesis, or proposition, its discussion, proof, the citation of objections to it and their solution. The method submitted everything to the canons of reasoning, gave room for the presentation of all sides of the question under discussion, was flexible in the hands of different authors, and succeeded admirably in the exposition and defense of the Christian religion, and the clear definition of many points of doctrine. What was its success can best be shown by the scientific spirit it generated, the habit of precise thinking and of accurate expression, and the number of great men and institutions it produced.

The scholastics set about to learn all that was knowable. From the zenith of the movement to its decay and decline men are identified with it who amaze the modern world by their erudition. To Albertus Magnus it was said "Scisti omne scibile," and judging from his writings and the tributes paid to him there is little doubt as to the truth of the statement. Consider the splendid array of doctors in the scholastic movement: *Doctor Universalis*, Albertus Magnus; *Doctor Angelicus*, St. Thomas; *Doctor Seraphicus*, St. Bonaventure; *Doctor Subtilis*, Duns Scotus; and *Doctor Singularis et Invincibilis*, William of Occam; and these titles are but slight indications of the calibre and influence of the leaders. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

appear the universal geniuses, such as Pico della Mirandola, the young paragon of learning famous for his challenge to defend 900 theses on everything known, and whose erudition is one of the marvels of history; and the other wits of the Academy of Florence, men who had, it is true, outgrown the schools, but who owed it to the scholastics that they had been educated at all.

While scholasticism attended principally to philosophy, it is erroneous to think that the other branches of knowledge were neglected, or that medicine, law, and letters disappeared from the course of study. To speak only of the latter, for there is no difficulty with the history of the others, let it be noted that the very forerunners of the movement for the revival of letters, Dante and Petrarch, were the pupils of the schoolmen. Where were they taught their Italian and Latin and philosophy, if not in the system developed under scholasticism? On this point of the liberal studies it is well to recall that some of the scholastics themselves were poets and mystics, and that the greatest thinker and scholar of all, St. Thomas, was capable of the sublime poem *Pange Lingua*, which contains the *Tantum Ergo;* the *Verbum Supernum*, which contains the *O Salutaris Hostia:* and the beautiful office of the feast of Corpus Christi.

In their educational scheme the scholastics did not allow the new studies, however absorbing or attractive they were, to supplant the old. The ancient writers were still taught in connection with grammar and to a greater extent than is usually thought possible. They were overshadowed by theology and philosophy, by law and medicine, because the dominant interests of the time made it so, just as in modern times the natural sciences have competed with the humanities for favor in the schools. To the credit of

the schoolmen it should be observed that, when the great revival of literature and art took place, in the Renaissance, the scholastic institutions of Italy, the universities, became centers of the movement and furthered its advance even as they had prepared the world for its coming.

In the educational scheme the various subjects of learning had a definite relationship and a coordination that is sadly lacking in education to-day. Whatever studies had been added by the scholastics to the curriculum did not crowd out the older nor take from their importance. There always remained the Temple of Learning, or the Tower of Wisdom, with all the subjects in their respective places. A story could be added to it without disturbing the order. This Temple of Learning is, by the way, a fine example of the coordination in studies dear to the popular imagination of the Middle Ages. It is found in the allegories and poems typifying ascent or advance in learning, just as in the spiritual works the Ladder of Perfection typified ascent in virtue. In the Temple of Learning are represented the unity and the coordination of knowledge. The boy is admitted to it by Wisdom when his letters have been learned, and then by definite stages or grades he mounts upward; through Grammar on the first and second floors; through Logic and Rhetoric, or the rest of the trivium on the third; through Music, Geometry, Astronomy on the fourth; through Philosophy and Physics on the fifth, until finally at the summit, or in the tower, he learns Theology, the truth which tells of God.

Some have compared the scholastic system of education to the medieval Gothic cathedral; centuries in the building, it incorporated all human art and science, unified in purpose and cause to represent the unity and solidarity of Christian learning, pointing upward and lifting thought and

inspiration to the divine. As the cathedral surmounted by the Cross is the monument of Christian art and faith, so scholastic education dominated by the science of God is the monument of medieval learning. It represents the work of Christian genius, flowering in the Mistress of the Sciences, persisting to the present and, unlike the monuments of stone, destined to remain forever.

Scholasticism like all great movements saw its period of decay and decline. The elaborate system of reasoning and discussion, which had wrought the solution of the gravest problems in philosophy and theology, suffered when applied to unworthy and even frivolous questions. Scholasticism had served its purpose, and, as in thought so too in education, it gave way to a newer movement. The Renaissance sprang up suddenly, but not as a movement unrelated to its predecessor. It found an educational world ready for its new gospel, a university system everywhere and magnificently established, centers of learned men and societies, an academic world sated with speculation and philosophy and hungry for the culture and the beauty, which the revival of a glorious past would bring. The educational aspect of the Renaissance shows effectively how much it owed to scholasticism for the impetus it promptly received, and how much of an intellectual inheritance it enjoyed particularly by means of the universities, the institutions in which scholasticism had produced its most brilliant results.

However much the present is indebted to the Renaissance which supplanted scholasticism, it is well to observe that had not the substantial and fundamental subjects of education been retained, *i.e.*, philosophy, theology, the exact sciences, besides letters, for all of which scholasticism stood, and had not the great institution, the university,

been able to outlive and survive the college or the product of humanism, the literary movement would have died of its own limitations. What has survived to-day in university or higher education, and largely in secondary, is the direct bequest of the scholastic teachers, who not only preserved the literature of antiquity, and stamped education with the mark of Christian principles, but who in their works, in spite of the ridicule of a Rabelais, or the bitter attack of a De la Ramée, or the narrow jibe of a reformer, and a literature of abuse and contumely, laid the basis of the education of a considerable portion of modern society.

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CHAPTER XIV

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION—(Continued)

Universities

The earliest universities arose in cities where famous schools were established and as the result of a variety of causes. As they had no charters, it is consequently most difficult, if not impossible, to tell precisely when they, as universities, originated. It has been said that each of the early universities had its own peculiar cause or causes which differentiated its origin from that of the others. However true this may be, it is certain that the universities of one country, *e.g.*, Italy, arose from causes quite distinct from those peculiar to the universities of England. Some general causes can be assigned for the rise and spread of the university movement. They were: the popularity of the study of law and medicine and the need of their specialization; the introduction to Europe of Saracen studies; the growing favor of scholastic philosophy and reputation of individual teachers; the rise of free and enterprising cities; the unrest and facility for travel caused by the Crusades; the action of the imperial and papal power in patronizing and founding schools.

Each of the earliest universities was famous as the center for a special study, and, as they were the models of the subsequent universities, it is well to view briefly the details of their foundations. The **University of Salerno** dates its beginning from the eleventh century when the physician, Constantine the African (Constantinus Africanus), a

translator of Greek medical works, attracted great numbers of students to the city by his lectures on medicine. He afterward became a monk in Monte Cassino. The fame of the school arose when the crusaders returning to Europe spread broadcast the news of the skill of the Salerno scholars and physicians. This university unlike those which follow did not exert a great influence on university organization. It declined in the fifteenth century.

Bologna sprang into fame as a center for the study of law. Early in the twelfth century Irnerius (†1138) lectured on Roman law and jurisprudence and revived the influence of the ancient code. The profession of law offered new attractions, and many clerics and laymen took it up. At about the same time Gratian, a priest, revived the study of canon law. His codification of the law of the Church (known as the *Decretum Gratiani*) was one of the most important in the development of the study, and was the only text-book on canon law for centuries. Bologna through the influence of these two famous teachers developed rapidly into a great legal center, and became the model of an important type of medieval university, especially for southern Europe, *i. e.*, the democratic or student university as distinguished from the aristocratic or master type.

Modern scholarship favors the view that the **University of Paris** originated chiefly from the cathedral school of Notre Dame, although the influence of the school of St. Victor and of St. Geneviève du Mont in making Paris a great theological center is generally recognized. In the twelfth century the scholars, Rosselin, William of Champeaux and Abelard attracted multitudes to their lectures. The latter is said to have had thousands in attendance at his courses, and to have included 20 cardinals and 50

bishops among his students. In Paris interest centered in philosophy and theology. The university was throughout the Middle Ages the greatest theological school. In organization Paris holds equal importance with Bologna, for it, too, was the model and type of great universities, notably those of the North.

The term university, *universitas*, signified in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a corporation, and, applied to schools, meant the society or corporation of students and masters. It referred to the corporation aggregate by which the school was maintained: *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, not to any group of buildings or material equipment. It came to be applied to the institution where the sciences were taught, and was used synonymously with *studium generale* or general school. In Bologna where it was first used the students constituted the corporation, elected the rector, engaged the professors and conducted the affairs of the school. This was the model of the student or scholar universities, upon which the universities of the South of Europe were organized. Paris presented another type, that of the master university where the teachers were the controlling power in the corporation. There in the twelfth century the professors formed a corporate teaching body, and although the students were organized into "nations" as in the University of Bologna, they did not administer the affairs of the institution. The "nations" of Paris, composed of the students from the different countries and designated as the nations of France, Picardy, Normandy, and England, elected the rector, who was in the beginning only the representative of the student body. The chief administrative official was the chancellor who (as in all Catholic universities) represented the Holy See. The University of Oxford and those generally in the North of Europe fol-

lowed the organization of Paris and were the master universities.

Much uncertainty surrounds the origin of the **University of Oxford.** Some historians have dated its beginning from the time of Alfred the Great, others even earlier. In the twelfth century schools were flourishing there, and in 1167 occurred a migration of students from Paris to Oxford. In 1209, it is recorded, over 3,000 left on account of difficulties with the town. Through this dispersion the **University of Cambridge** originated. In much the same way the Universities of **Vicenza** (1204), **Arezzo** (1213), and **Padua** (1222), took their rise from the student body of Bologna.

The university movement spread to Spain and three universities opened there in the thirteenth century—**Palencia, Salamanca** and **Valladolid.** The **University of Lisbon** was also founded in the same century. The foundation of the **University of Toulouse** in 1233 by Pope Gregory IX, and of **Naples** in 1244 by Emperor Frederick II, afford examples of the most significant kind of foundation for the whole university movement. They were created by papal and imperial decrees respectively. All subsequent universities received their charters from either or both of these sources, the majority from the former. In the entire Middle Ages, before the Reformation, eighty-one universities were established throughout all Europe. Of these thirteen had no charters as far as the modern world can discover; fifteen were founded by the imperial power; twenty by the papal and imperial powers combined; and thirty-three by the papal power alone. Kings, noblemen, and bishops were the organizers of many universities, but the charter came from a higher and more widely recognized authority. The papal recognition was mostly desired, for the Church, established throughout the world and enjoy-

ing universal jurisdiction, was held competent above all other powers to authorize great teaching institutions.

The privileges conferred on the universities by the Emperor and Pope aided considerably in their development. Frederick I (Barbarossa) granted the students of Naples, and eventually of the empire, the privilege of special courts, in which their cases were adjudicated by the bishop of the city, or by one of the professors of the university. The students were guaranteed safe conduct or passage like pilgrims, and were exempted from military service and various forms of taxation. On the university was conferred the privilege to grant the license to teach, on the student receiving it exemption from further examination by other universities. He had the right to teach everywhere—*jus ubique docendi*. Another right of the university was to suspend lectures, "cessatio," when grievances with the town or municipality could not be otherwise settled. Such a privilege was granted by Pope Gregory IX to the University of Paris in 1231, when he authorized the masters to suspend lectures if redress were not made by the city for their wrongs in fifteen days. These privileges protected the student bodies and enabled the university to safeguard its interests in dealing with cities. Many of the rights and privileges obtained by the universities from the imperial and papal power and through long-standing custom were perpetuated in the charters of the later universities, which stated that the new institution was to have all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the masters and students of the University of Paris or Bologna.

The university consisted of the several faculties of theology, law, medicine and arts, each of which was empowered to confer degrees. There was one chief degree, that of *Doctor* or *Master*, which was conferred at the com-

pletion of the course after satisfactory examination and defense of a thesis. It indicated the fitness or capability of the recipient to teach, and was designed to determine the qualifications of those aspiring to the teaching profession. In theology the degree of *Licentiate* arose later to designate one licensed to teach, who had not yet obtained but was preparing for the doctorate. It shows how the time from taking the examination for the license and the actual conferring of the doctorate or the "inceptio" had been lengthened. The grade of *Bachelor*, not at first recognized as a degree, entitled the student to pursue higher courses looking to the doctorate. It was given upon completion of the art studies and signified the apprentice in teaching. It came from *bachelier*, old French for apprentice. The degree, *Master of Arts*, *Artium Magister*, which then really meant the teacher of arts, was the equivalent of doctor of arts. The term *Master* was more commonly used in Paris and the universities of the North; the term *Doctor* in Bologna and the universities of the South. In Oxford and Cambridge *Master* came to be adopted for the degree in arts and *Doctor* for the degree in law, medicine and theology.

The method of teaching was chiefly that of lectures and disputations. The professor lectured on the text of the author studied, as for instance in theology, on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, or in Law, on the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (civil law), interpreting it and commenting on it, while the students followed the text and took down the professor's observations. The ordinary lecture was given by the doctor of the course; the extraordinary by the bachelor, the latter course being often for the purpose of repetition or review. The method was not that of mere dictation by the professor and slavish copying by the

student, although in the absence of books the student relied chiefly on his notes, but a learned exposition of the theological, philosophical or scientific question under study. The disputation then afforded the opportunity for discussion. This resembled in some respects our formal debate. A question or thesis being proposed and its answer or proof given, objections were raised, and treated in an orderly and logical manner. Disputations took place weekly, and solemn disputes, in which the masters and distinguished visitors assisted and often took part, were held yearly. They afforded the widest range for proposing difficulties and objections and freedom for discussing a question from many viewpoints. In the scholastic period every conceivable subject having a philosophical interest was discussed.

The content of the studies offered in the university has been already referred to in connection with scholasticism. While a limited body of knowledge was taught, it is no longer permissible to hold the view that, apart from the professional subjects like theology, law and medicine, the whole time of the student was engaged in the study of logic and that the arts were neglected, especially grammar and rhetoric. On this point it should be said that the faculty of arts, although inferior in rank to the other three faculties, and offering the training in logic and disputation preparatory to the others, had its own important chairs, and was of special rank in certain universities. The texts for the trivium still remained: in grammar, Donatus, Priscian, and Alexander de Villa Dei (of Villedieu); for rhetoric and dialectic, Boethius; for the quadrivium, in geometry, Euclid; astronomy, Ptolemy, and in music and arithmetic, Boethius. But as the university period extended, *e.g.*, in the thirteenth century, there were many manuals and

general works containing extensive information on all the arts and these were used in the schools. Such an encyclopedic work as that of the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville was succeeded by the *Speculum Majus* of Vincent of Beauvais.

In theology the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and the Scriptures were the texts used. The treatises of the scholastics abound in scriptural quotations which they alleged in support of their theological teachings. The texts for civil and canon law were respectively the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and *Decretum Gratiani*, although it can be realized that where law was specialized, as in Bologna, other texts like the *Decretals* of Gregory IX and the *Clementines* were in use. The medical course followed the works of the Greek writers Hippocrates (†375 B. C.) and Galen (†200 A. D.) and those of the Saracen and Jewish physicians, as of Avicenna and Isaac Judaeus. The professors of Salerno occasionally supplied their own texts; and there gradually grew up a literature on anatomy and general medicine both in special texts and in the current encyclopedic works.

The universities wielded a mighty influence on medieval culture and education and in many respects have affected our modern institutions. They were great centers in an academic world where a common and universal language, Latin, was used, and where the most scholarly teachers and students congregated. They were cosmopolitan and democratic in character, having men of all countries in the faculties and among the students, as the nations of Paris and Bologna so well show. Paris has been credited with an attendance of between 20,000 and 40,000; Bologna in the twelfth century with 10,000; Oxford in the opinion of a fourteenth century writer with 30,000 and although recent

estimates place the figures much lower, as *e. g.*, Paris and Bologna, at 6,000–7,000 (Rashdall), those would be large student bodies for present day schools. The largest American university for example, had, in 1912, less than 8,000 students during the regular academic year.

Modern education has derived much from the administrative and academic arrangements of the medieval university especially in regard to the faculties; from its system of degrees; from the provisions made by the university for the qualifications of its teachers; from its training for the professions; from its courses of study modified in subsequent times but which survive in one form or another to-day.

The **College** is another and significant contribution of the medieval university to modern education. University Colleges which became so numerous at Paris and Oxford were originally the "hospicia," hostels, halls, or boarding places of the students. They were democratic in government, the students electing their own principal, or regent, who was responsible for the rent, board and expenses. Pious benefactors frequently founded or endowed these "hospicia" for poor students, as, for instance, in the twelfth century, the modest endowment of beds in the Hotel Dieu, Paris, known as the Collège des Dix-Huit, for the support of eighteen poor scholars. The convents of religious orders were designated as university colleges. The students from the beginning attended the lectures of the university. Gradually, however, instruction of a lower and a higher grade was given in the colleges. In the College of the Sorbonne, founded 1257 by Robert de Sorbonne, Chaplain of Louis IX, for students preparing for the doctorate in theology, the work required was of university grade. Gradually too the Universities obtained con-

trol of the colleges and supervised the private life of the students. With this control there also resulted more generous provision for the support of poor scholars. In Paris alone over sixty-seven colleges were founded before the year 1500 according to the list published by Rashdall. The list is very probably incomplete for "more than one college mentioned in it is revealed to us only by a single accidental allusion."[1]

Although Paris was the home of the colleges, the whole collegiate system of the university fell away at the Revolution and never reproduced itself later. It was different in Oxford, for "of all the secular foundations which medieval piety bequeathed to Oxford she has lost not one."[2] Baliol College, founded 1261 for the maintenance of poor scholars, and Merton Hall, founded 1263 by Walter de Merton, a priest, for needy theological students, reproduced many features of the Parisian organization and the early Cambridge colleges were in turn imitations of Oxford.

The universities constitute the great achievement of the Middle Ages in the intellectual sphere. "Their organization and their traditions," says Rashdall, "their studies and their exercises affected the progress and intellectual development of Europe more powerfully, or (perhaps it should be said) more exclusively, than any schools in all likelihood will ever do again."[3] The university was the institutional embodiment of the medieval educational ideal just as the Church and the Empire were the concrete embodiments of that ideal in religion and government. It was a distinctly medieval creation: ancient civilization had produced no such institution, for as Rashdall well says, "It is entirely

[1] Rashdall, H. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, i, 512. Oxford, 1895.
[2] *Ibid*, i, 513.
[3] *Ibid*, i, 5.

misleading to apply the name to the Schools of ancient Athens and Alexandria."[1] Modern education owes much to the Middle Ages for them, for if we have to-day teaching corporations, courses of study, a system of examinations, degrees, it is as a direct inheritance from the medieval universities.

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[1] Rashdall, *Universities of Europe,* II, ii, 710.

CHAPTER XV

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION—(Continued)

Religious Orders and Educators of the Scholastic and University Period

Before mentioning some of the leading educators of the scholastic and university period, attention should be directed to the great religious orders, whose influence educationally was at that time significant and far-reaching. The Benedictine influence declined in this later period, but other orders had meanwhile sprung up or developed from the old and were in various ways associated with educational interests. Some profoundly affected the universities.

The **Canons Regular,** or communities of clerics leading a common life, wielded a greater influence than in the earlier period of the Middle Ages. It has already been noted how Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz, organized the clerics of his cathedral into a community, and gave them a rule based on that of St. Augustine for similar communities. The Bishop of Hippo was regarded throughout the Middle Ages as the lawgiver of the Canons, hence the name Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine. It was a common practice for clerics desirous of organizing themselves into communities and of leading a common life to accept this rule rather than the Benedictine, and to devote themselves to works not sanctioned nor encouraged by the older rule. Education was one of their chief activities, both in the cathedral canonicates for the instruction of the future clergy, and in the colleges connected with their churches

which were often endowed establishments as collegiate churches, where admission was not restricted to prospective members of the order. Some of these are numbered among the most celebrated schools at the beginning of the university period, *e.g.*, the School of St. Victor, Paris, founded by William of Champeaux in 1110 and made illustrious through the scholastic and mystic, Hugh of St. Victor, his successor Richard, and the poet Adam of St. Victor.

The Canons Regular, also called Clerici Regulares, or Regular Clerics, often received their name from the place where their institution was located, and this community is commonly spoken of as the **Canons of St. Victor** or the **Victorines.** There were Canons Regular in all the countries of Europe. It is believed by many that the monasteries of Ireland were founded for them.[1] Certainly the Canons were numerous there and in England and Scotland in the later Middle Ages. They were engaged in the general parochial works of the clergy and also the educational, their institutions being open to secular students as well as aspirants to the order.

In a similar manner, the **Canonesses Regular** or communities of women following the rule of St. Augustine, rapidly extended their houses after their better organization through the laws of the Council of Aachen, 817. Their rule granted privileges and permitted occupations not sanctioned by the Benedictine, and their institutes extended very widely in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the members devoting themselves not infrequently to the education of girls and also of boys. They were usually established where congregations of men were already located. In Ireland, during the early period, St. Bridget

[1] Cf. Catholic Encyclopedia, *Canons Regular.*

was the first of the Canonesses Regular. During this later period, we note that, with the English establishment of the Canons Regular at Sempringham by St. Gilbert in 1148, a community of women was also formed. In this case, however, the nuns were given the rule of St. Benedict with an elaborate constitution and modification by St. Gilbert. A large number of congregations of women were founded in this way, *i.e.*, in connection with the Canons Regular, in the later Middle Ages, and they flourished in Great Britain until the Reformation.

In the early thirteenth century two new orders arose to meet the urgent religious needs of the time—the **Franciscans** and the **Dominicans.** The former were called the Order of Friars Minor, or Grey Friars, and the latter, the Order of Preachers, or Black Friars, and, although neither was founded expressly for educational pursuits, they were destined to further the cause of learning both by their patronage and use of the schools, for their members were academically trained, and by the services of the distinguished educators numbered among them.

St. Francis of Assisi obtained the approval of the Holy See in 1208 for the movement he had already projected for the regeneration of society. His humble Friars, in some instances men who were formerly wealthy merchants of Assisi, gave all they possessed to the poor, assumed a rough habit, and moved among the people preaching penance and giving an example of the virtues of sacrifice and self-denial they had vowed to practice. Owning nothing they begged their food, and in the beginning had no monasteries, not even places of shelter. Their cloister was the world and their mission to win by example the hearts of men to peace and charity. Their preaching to the people of all classes, usually in the busy thoroughfares and marts of

trade, from the steps of the churches, had a wide social effect and was in a broad sense educational. There were so many people desirous of association with the Friars and yet unable to leave their homes and occupations, that the Third Order of St. Francis was organized for them. They participated in the benefits of the Order and pledged themselves to promote peace and charity among their fellowmen. The Friars within a few years had spread to all of the countries of Europe, as their general chapters held in St. Francis' lifetime show. At the chapter of 1221, 5,000 Friars and 500 candidates for admission attended.

The field of Franciscan activity soon extended beyond missionary works to the conduct of large monasteries and to literary and educational undertakings. They were before long in possession of houses at the great universities and represented in the university faculties. Their first establishments in England were in London and Oxford in 1224. By 1230 Ireland was a separate province. In the scholastic revival the order produced many distinguished professors in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, Bologna and those of Spain and Germany; among them were the great schoolmen: Alexander of Hales (†1245), John Duns Scotus (†1308), William of Occam (†1349) and the mystic and philosopher, St. Bonaventure (†1272). The preacher and popular writer on educational questions, Berthold of Ratisbon (†1272), the scientist Roger Bacon (†1294), and the poet Giacomino of Verona (†1300), the precursor of Dante, might be mentioned among a host of celebrated Friars of the later Middle Ages.

Bacon is of special educational interest because of his efforts to improve ecclesiastical studies by directing the schools to give less time to philosophy and more to the languages, Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic for the futher-

ance of Scriptural studies, and also to mathematics and the natural sciences. A real discoverer in the field of natural science, his merits have been recognized only in modern times. His ideas and proposals on the reform of studies were outlined in his great work, prepared at the request of Pope Clement IV, the *Opus Majus*, an encyclopedia of the learning of the time. This was followed by the *Opus Minus*, a recapitulation of the *Opus Majus*, and the *Opus Tertium* which added matters omitted from the other two. Although his reforms failed of accomplishment through the untimely death of his friend and patron, Pope Clement IV (†1268), his text-books, *Compendium of Philosophy* and *Theology*[1], *Greek* and *Hebrew* grammars, continued to be used in England down to the Reformation.

The **Order of Preachers** had for its object the salvation of souls especially by means of preaching. Founded by St. Dominic in 1216 it too, like the Franciscan Order, spread rapidly. It is estimated that there were 7,000 members in the middle of the thirteenth century, and before the middle of the fourteenth the order had establishments all over Europe. Every convent had its "doctor" or teacher, who lectured daily to the Friars on theology and also to other students, members of the secular clergy. This was the conventual school and in many instances it provided higher courses in theology and the sacred sciences. As in Paris, chairs were at times incorporated with the university, and in this way constituted the faculty of theology for a university. Study was a regular duty of the young Friar. Besides his course in the sacred sciences he pursued the natural sciences, and, when the needs of the missions required, he learned Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic. The Protestant historian Molinier has said of the Dominican

[1] *Compendium Studii Philosophiae. Compendium Studii Theologiae.*

schools: "They were not content with professing in their convents all the divisions of science, as it was then understood; they added an entire order of studies which no other Christian schools of the time seem to have taught, and in which they had no other rivals, than the rabbis of Languedoc and Spain."[1] The Dominicans had, so to speak, an academic mission, and their scholastic activity is especially seen in the development of philosophy and theology. The work begun by Albertus Magnus and completed by his disciple St. Thomas Aquinas resulted in a system of theology and philosophy at once "the most complete, the most original, and the most profound, which Christian thought has elaborated." As already noted, both representatives of the order were prolific writers, and the latter is of special interest for his treatment of the scholastic educational theory, and his designation by Pope Leo XIII to be the patron of scholars and Angel of the schools.[2]

To the Order of Preachers the schools were indebted for valuable manuals in theology and philosophy. Vincent of Bauvais produced in his *Speculum Majus* the great encyclopedia of the Middle Ages; William of Tournai composed a treatise *De modo docendi pueros*, *On the Manner of Teaching Boys*, and a treatise on Confession for children. In the Renaissance the order was admirably represented by Cardinal John Dominici, author of *Lucula Noctis*, and a work on the government of the family which contained a chapter on the education of children.[3]

The official work of the Dominicans was preaching, and in the Middle Ages the pulpit was an educational agency. They were the preachers of the crusades, of the courts, the

[1] Molinier, *Guillem Bernard de Gaillac et l'enseignement chez les Dominicains*, 80. Paris, 1884.

[2] Cf. page 124.

[3] Cf. page 172.

champions of truth against heresy. In the words of an early Master General of the Order, Humbert of Romans, "they taught the people, the prelates, the wise and unwise, religious and seculars, clerics and laymen, nobles and peasants, lowly and great." They were as a body the leading preachers of the thirteenth century and maintained their supremacy throughout the Middle Ages. This work combined with their systematic teaching in convent schools and in the universities made the Order a great educational power.

Among the members of other religious orders and the secular clergy some individual educators may be noted, in order to show the general interest in education and the state of the schools. Distinguished representatives of their orders were for example, **Thomas of Cantimpré** (†1272), the Augustinian abbot and later Dominican preacher and author, to whom is attributed the treatise *De disciplina scholarium, On the Discipline of Scholars;* and **Aegidius Colonna** (Aegidius Romanus, or Giles of Rome), (†1316) of the Hermits of St. Augustine, known by the title, "Doctor Fundatissimus," professor of the University of Paris, who was tutor of Philip IV ("The Fair") of France, and afterward archbishop of Bourges. He wrote for the instruction of his former pupil the treatise *De regimine principum, On the Training of Princes,* a work which went through many editions, and was translated into French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, English and even Hebrew.[1] It consists of three books: the first treats of the government of himself,—the character and conduct of the prince, the nature of his happiness, the acquisition of virtue and control of his passions; the second

[1] Kaufmann, *Von der Sorge der Eltern für die Erziehung ihrer Kinder, von Agidius Romanus de Colonna,* 21. Freiburg, 1904.

treats of the government of his family,—his relations with the queen, the children and the servants; and the third of the government of the State,—in time of peace and in time of war. Colonna's educational views are chiefly contained in the second part of the second book, on the care and education of children. While addressed to the prince every chapter is intended for wider application; the prince should be the model father in this matter, and all other parents are urged to follow his example, especially in regard to the choice of teachers, the religious and moral training of his sons and daughters, which will embrace details of upbringing from infancy to the seventh year, from the seventh to the fourteenth, and from the fourteenth onward, and in regard to mental and physical welfare. The special needs of girls in household duties and training for their peculiar virtues are treated in three chapters.

A similar work, *De regimine principum*, interesting for its political as well as pedagogical views, was written by **Engelbert** (†1331), the Benedictine abbot of Admont in Styria. The work deals especially with political science, but its suggestions on education are sound and practical. Engelbert also produced a treatise on music, *De musica tractatus*, along with works on theology, philosophy, history and the natural sciences.[1]

Jean Gerson (1364–1429), Chancellor of the Church of Notre Dame and the University of Paris, is a type of the medieval churchman and educator. His office as chancellor of the University made him responsible to the Holy See for the condition of education in all of the schools of Paris from the University down to those of elementary grade. Nature and training had admirably equipped him

[1] Wiechner, *Kloster Admont und seine Beziehungen zur Wissenschaft und zum Unterricht.* Graz, 1892.

to champion the immense interests represented by the University, and to fulfil his peculiar duty of maintaining a high standard of moral and religious education throughout his jurisdiction. He was a successful administrator of a student-body numbered by thousands; and a writer of educational treatises of value for his own and subsequent generations.

The problem which most interested Gerson was that of religious training. It was his effort to combine the intellectual and the moral, while maintaining a high standard of both, that caused him to exercise his power of supervision, and inspired those of his educational writings which are to-day of pedagogical significance. He wrote extensively on doctrinal, moral and ascetical subjects, and as his treatises were meant for the clergy and laity they assumed a didactic character. Some of his moral treatises are essentially instructive in form and substance, and according to Dupin, the editor of his works, he gained a wider reputation in his own and succeeding generations than any other ecclesiastical writer since St. Bernard.[1]

His educational tracts show a remarkable versatility of style and treatment. They were called forth by the circumstances of the time and were not academic addresses prepared for the students of the University. A good illustration is his protest to the municipal authorities against the lascivious pictures and images exhibited in the public places, which were a source of temptation to the young.[2] When the protest was fiercely assailed he replied with a short treatise on *The Innocence of Children.*[3] He frequently treated the question of reading. In a tract

[1] *Joannis Gersonii Opera Omnia.* Antwerpiae, 1706.
[2] *Expostulatio ad potestates publicas.* Opera, iii, 291. Antwerpiae, 1706.
[3] *De innocentia puerili,* Opera, iii, 293.

addressed to the instructor and confessor of the young Charles VII he gives a chapter on reading, its excellence and usefulness, and another on the formation of a portable library. The Bible is the first of books from both the historical and the moral viewpoint, and although spiritual works predominate in the list, one finds Aristotle, Valerius Maximus, Boethius, Seneca, Suetonius and Livy recommended as suitable authors to be read or studied by the future king.[1]

Gerson combatted the reading of the *Romance of the Rose* by Christian youth in an allegorical treatise—*Contra Romantium de Rosa.* He draws a round indictment against Christians who praised and defended the work, finding it more polluted than its pagan sources. Ovid had been condemned and banished by a pagan emperor for his too popular teaching of the *ars amandi*; yet the pagan poet had more regard for the ties of matrimony than his modern successor in the *Romance of the Rose.*[2]

Other treatises of educational value are an Instruction for the teachers and pupils of the Cathedral School of Notre Dame;[3] a letter to the students of the College of Navarre on the study of theology;[4] but the tract most familiarly associated with his name deals with the religious training of children and is entitled *Leading the Little Children to Christ.* It was written most probably at Lyons where Gerson spent the last ten years of his life in exile, unable to return to Paris on account of the hostility of the Duke of Burgundy towards him. There, at the collegiate church of St. Paul, he was accustomed to gather the children of the poor about him and instruct them in the rudiments of

[1] *De considerationibus quas debet habere Princeps.* Opera, iii, 225.
[2] Opera, iii, 297.
[3] Opera, iv, 717.
[4] Opera, i, 106.

learning and chiefly Christian Doctrine. What he had long counseled and recommended in regard to the religious formation of the young he now undertook as a personal occupation. His course was ridiculed by his enemies and unfavorably criticized by his friends. The principles that supported him, however, were beyond refutation. They are beautifully set forth, with the fruits of his successful experience, in this short treatise which, for its antiquity and excellence, must rank as one of the most precious documents on religious training in Christian literature.

Its text and dominant thought is "Suffer the little children to come to me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God." The great and perfect Teacher, Christ, desired the children to come to Him and was much displeased with the disciples who forbade them. Gerson sees reason to rebuke those of his contemporaries who neglect to bring the children to Christ, but he puts aside all bitter reprehension and pleads for their cooperation. He contends that the reformation of the Church must be accomplished through the children, by their systematic training and instruction. The work contains four chapters: the first treats of the children, how necessary for them and for the Church that they come to Christ; the second, of those who scandalize them and thwart their coming to Christ; the third, of the praiseworthy zeal of those who guide them on the way which leads to Christ; and the last gives a justification of his views and a defence of his methods. It concludes with a touching appeal to the children to accept his invitation to be led to Christ by him.[1]

Denis, the Carthusian (1402–1471), born at Rykel, Bel-

[1] *De Parvulis trahendis ad Christum*, Opera iii, 277. This treatise has appeared in many Latin editions, the latest being Paris, 1878; also in many French and German translations. Cf. de Baudry. *Traduction du traité de Gerson . . .* Lyon, 1840. Kunz, in Bibliothek der katholischen Pädagogik, xv, 114. Freiburg, 1904.

gium, the last of the schoolmen, is so called because he is the last of the great scholastic writers. His works form a complete summary of the scholastic teaching of the Middle Ages. They have come down to posterity in twenty-five folio volumes,[1] including treatises on Scripture, theology, canon law, philosophy, polemics, liturgy, asceticism, religious life and education. Some of his best educational tracts were chapters in works of spiritual direction, *e.g.*, for all Christians, *De doctrina, et regulis vitae Christianorum*; for princes, *De vita et regimine principum*; for the nobility, *Directorium vitae nobilium*; for parents, *De laudabili vita conjugatorum*. In the first of these works are chapters on the duty of parents towards their children and vice versa; also on the good and bad qualities of children. The *Dialogue of Jesus and the Boy*[2] was to be read by the students before beginning the study of philosophy. The largest and most important of his educational works, *On the Life, Habits, and Learning of Students*,[3] resembles the treatise of the earlier scholastic, Hugh of St. Victor, in form and content. It treats mostly of the moral and spiritual aspects of education and was intended for teachers as well as students. The writings of Denis contribute little to educational science, but they represent the ideal of the later scholastic educators, for whom the spiritual and the ascetic dominated all other interests.

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[1] A new edition which will comprise over forty quarto volumes is being issued by the Carthusians at Tournai, Belgium.

[2] *Jesu et pueri dialogus.*

[3] *De vita, moribus et eruditione scholasticorum.* Cf. Keiser, *Dionys des Kartaüsers Leben und pädagogische Schriften.* Freiburg, 1904. Contains translations of principal treatises. Siegfried, *Dionysius the Carthusian* in Amer. Eccles. Review, November 1899.

CHAPTER XVI

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION—(Continued)

Types of Later Medieval Schools

In addition to the cathedral and monastic instutions, other types of elementary schools flourished in the countries of Europe in the later Middle Ages. Chief among them were the parish, chantry, town and guild schools, and these were so numerous and widely extended that we must conclude elementary education was then well provided for in cities and rural districts and not only for boys but also for girls. The Church was solicitous for the education of all. This is clear from the decrees of councils, and the general legislative actions of her officials. As in the earlier Middle Ages, there is notable provision of free schools for the poor.

The Third Council of the Lateran, held in 1179, decreed as follows: "The Church of God, being, like a good and tender mother, obliged to provide for the spiritual and corporal wants of the poor, is desirous of procuring for children destitute of pecuniary resources the means of learning to read and of advancing in the study of letters, and ordains that every cathedral church shall have a master who will instruct gratis the ecclesiastical students of that church and the poor scholars, and that a grant be assigned him which, by sufficing for his maintenance, will thus open the door of the school to studious youths. A free school shall be re-opened in the other churches and monasteries, where there formerly existed funds for this purpose. . . . Nobody shall exact any remuneration,

either for the license to teach, or for the exercise of teaching, even if his right be based on custom; and the license to keep a school shall not be refused to any person who can justify his capacity for it. Offenders shall be deprived of their ecclesiastical living, for it is meet that, in the Church of God, he who hinders the progress of the churches by selling, from cupidity, the permission to teach, should be himself deprived of the fruit of his labor."[1]

The Fourth Council of the Lateran, held in 1215, renewed these decrees, and we have evidence sufficiently strong to believe that they were followed wherever possible. The wars, pestilence and consequent impoverishment of churches and abbeys made it frequently impossible to maintain schools and other public works of the Church; but from this time onward until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there are unmistakable proofs of general activity in behalf of the schools, especially the elementary.

For France our most trustworthy and complete information has come from the history of the schools in the different dioceses, and in great measure also from documents not dealing directly with schools. It is difficult to present an exact account of education there in the twelfth century, because a certain number of documents from which accurate statistics might be drawn up, have been destroyed. Recent research has made clear, however, that primary instruction was the object of anxious care on the part of the Church and faithful in France then and throughout the later medieval period. According to M. Leopold Delisle, "rural schools were multiplied throughout Normandy during the thirteenth century and those following it"[2], and this is known chiefly from the claims made by

[1] Mansi, *Collectio Amplissima Conciliorum.* Tit. 5, Cap. 1.

[2] *Etudes sur la condition de la classe agricole en Normandie,* 176. Evreux, 1851.

contending parties for the right to appoint the schoolmaster. Another writer says "We can prove similar facts all over France; at Châteaubriant, at Château-Thierry in 1222, at Evreux in 1292, at Flavigny in 1272, at Jaligny and Nailly in 1256, at Orange in 1208, at Pont-sur-Yonne, at Quimper in 1260, at Saint-Appollinaire in 1216, at Tonnerre in 1220, at Troyes, at Villeneuve-l'Archeveque, at Villeneuve-la-Guyard in 1276, at Villeneuve-le-Roi."[1] Tradesmen and artisans of Limousin often put it in their will that their children should be sent to school; the preachers of the period make frequent allusion, as to a fact of daily occurence, to little boys going to school with their alphabet swung over their shoulders; and there is the occasional anecdote referring to the schoolmistress for little girls.

In the fourteenth century documentary evidence is more weighty, fully supporting the view that schools existed in the cities and at least in the majority of large villages. The historian of the diocese of Rouen states that there was in every parish a clerk charged with the management of the school and the drawing up of contracts, and capable of teaching reading, writing, and Latin to children.[2] The treatise of Gerson written about 1400 would have the bishops enquire "if every parish has a school, and how the children are taught, and to open a school there if there be not one already."[3] Recent studies have also shown the wide extent of schools in France in the fifteenth century. The scholarly work of the Abbé Allain concisely presents the contributions to the subject for the important dioceses of France, and he concludes that in the provinces of France,

[1] Ravelet, *Blessed John Bap. de la Salle*, 19. Paris, 1888.

[2] Beaurepaire, *Recherches sur l'Instruction publique, dans le diocèse de Rouen, avant* 1789, i, 53. Evreux, 1872.

[3] *Tractatus de visitatione praelatorum et curatorum.* Opera, ii. Antwerpiae, 1760.

where any school records remain, the benefits of education reached down to the working and rural classes.[1] It is interesting to note that in Clermont in 1490, "schools" for little girls were separated from those of boys and that at Lyons and Troyes there were mistresses for girls.[2]

For Paris the data are more complete. In the thirteenth century we can even get an idea of the number of teachers. For instance, there were then eleven schoolmasters and one schoolmistress on the roll of the land tax levied by Philip the Fair, and of these only two were ecclesiastics, the others lay teachers. In the next century, on the occasion of a meeting called by the precentor, there were assembled sixty-three: forty-one masters and twenty-two mistresses. In the fifteenth century the number of schools is estimated at one hundred, the scholars at 1,000 and at close of the sixteenth century, Claude Joly, precentor of Paris, estimated the teachers at 500. The precentor had jurisdiction over the primary schools, gave licenses to teachers and made necessary regulations. In 1357 school statutes were issued which even in the seventeenth century formed a basis for the school laws of France. In them it is stated that schoolmasters may not teach girls, and schoolmistresses may not teach boys—a prohibition which clearly implies the attendance of both sexes in schools.[3]

These schools in France were parochial in organization. Similar types were to be seen in Germany and England, but in these countries there were also other types of schools to be mentioned later. In Scotland the burgh schools "had their origin in connection with the Church, or were called into existence by the people themselves; but in whatever

[1] Allain, *L'Instruction primaire en France avant la Révolution*, 38. Paris, 1887.
[2] Allain, 23.
[3] Ravelet, 28.

way they were founded, undoubtedly, toward the end of the fifteenth century, schools were planted in every considerable town in Scotland."[1] The **town** schools, especially in Germany, seem to take origin from the older established parish schools. The passing of control from the ecclesiastical to the municipal power was not always accompanied by strife, and did not mean, as is so often stated, a revolt against the authority of the Church. As Paulsen says, "Such struggles were never animated by a spirit of hostility to the Church or its doctrines; they were directed exclusively against the local educational authority. It is significant that the higher ecclesiastical authority always sided with the cities—a policy quite in accordance with the benevolent interest which the Church evinced, throughout the Middle Ages, in the advancement of education and educational institutions in any shape or form. There seems to be little doubt that, towards the end of the fifteenth century, nearly every city had a school of its own, and that even in small market towns and villages schools were by no means rare. Knepper's survey of Alsatian schools affords an instance; and many a school must have existed besides, whose name has not been handed down to posterity."[2] Then there were the private elementary schools in which reading, writing and general elements of education were taught. These were to be found in all large towns and often in considerable number. Called at times **Venture Schools,** they were usually the private undertakings of individuals or communities, as for instance individual lay teachers or communities of Sisters, or an association of writers or notaries. Since they taught the

[1] Grant, *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland,* 25. London, 1876.

[2] Paulsen, *German Education, Past and Present,* 29. New York, 1908.

vernacular and no Latin, they are regarded as the forerunners of the modern elementary schools. Some schools for girls were those of Mainz, Frankfurt, Speier and Brussels.[1]

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries some of the Venture schools were conducted by the Wandering Scholars (Scholares Vagantes, called also Bacchantes). Former university students, or teachers in town schools, these men moved from place to place and gathered about them small boys whom they instructed. The latter were the A B C shooters, often mere servants of the teachers, who begged and sometimes stole for their masters. In the fifteenth century they were occasionally controlled in their operations, such as begging, by city ordinances. The prevalence of these along with the cathedral schools, chantry schools and parish schools (Kusterschule), widely established in cities and villages, leads to the conclusion of Paulsen, "It seems safe to assume that, at the end of the Middle Ages, the entire population of the towns, with the exception of the lowest classes, was able to read and to write. No statistics are available, but the most convincing evidence that could be desired is afforded by the rapid development of the art of printing into an important industry. This would have been impossible without a universal demand for books. If we wish to realize how much the spread of the great intellectual and religious movements at the beginning of the sixteenth century was encouraged by the printing-press, we have only to think of Luther and Hutten and their pamphlets. Speeding on from town to town as if upon the wings of the wind, the new ideas took hold of the masses in a manner only possible amongst a population which was able and eager to read."[2]

[1] Bartolome, *Kurze Geschichte der Pädagogik*, 30. Freiburg, 1911.
[2] Paulsen, ibid., 31.

To England we might look for an example of the development to a high degree of another type, called **Chantry Schools.** This school differed from the parish school in that it was conducted by a priest in charge of a chantry, or endowment for masses. The donor of the foundation or endowment stipulated that in the chapel built for the purpose, or at a special altar in the cathedral or parish church, Masses were to be offered daily, or at stated times, for the repose of his soul or of others mentioned by him; and he often further required that the priest should perform certain charitable works, as, for instance, the care and attendance of the sick in hospitals, the aged, etc., and not infrequently that he maintain a school, "teaching gratis the poor who asked it humbly for the love of God." Ten per cent of the chantries in England, it is estimated, were educational, and that would represent fully 300 at the Reformation, when they were suppressed.

The chantry school was often located in the chantry chapel building or in the residence of the priest. The education given was usually elementary in scope, but it often became similar to that of the grammar school of the period which prepared for entrance into the university.

The medieval guild is responsible for a kind of education, and consequently a type of school, which was of real significance in this period, and especially in northern Europe. The guild, which may be defined as a voluntary association for religious, social and commercial purposes, formed one of the most important elements in the social state of the later Middle Ages. Although differing in origin and nature in the various countries of Europe, it usually arose as a society for the performance of religious or pious works; later the economic rather than the religious became the dominant purpose. The guild seemed to meet

the genius of the medieval man for federation and association, and with the growth of commerce and manufactures in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the guilds became very numerous embracing the merchants, traders, etc. under the merchant guild, and the artisans, and the skilled workmen, under the craft guilds. In controlling trade, in organizing and protecting labor, the guild strengthened into solidarity the middle class, and was a factor in the rise of the city states. In fact, the guild officers were at times identical with the municipal government. The student guilds, originally associations of foreign students at the universities, had a similar influence on the rise and organization of the universities, especially Bologna and those of the student type. From them came in all probability the degrees.[1]

The guild attended to the spiritual as well as the temporal wants of the members. The sick, the aged and the orphans were cared for; altars and chapels were maintained for the services of guilds; and Masses were said for the deceased members. A large guild not infrequently had its chaplain and maintained its church and school. The children of the craftsmen were then given elementary education in which the vernacular was chiefly taught, and at times a more advanced course, for these schools occasionally expanded into the Latin grammar schools as for instance in England, a notable example of which was the Merchant Taylors,' London.

The guild itself, especially the artisans,' was an educational institution. It provided a systematic industrial training by regulating all conditions for the learning of a trade or craft, for instance, that only a master could teach the trade or craft; that apprenticeship should embrace a

[1] Cf. page 135, on degrees.

definite number of years, from three years to ten according to the character of the craft; that the journeyman, as the tradesman was called when he had completed apprenticeship, should work under a master and not alone, and that he should only be declared a master when he had completed an independent piece of craftsmanship, a "masterpiece."

The apprentice lived with his master while learning the craft, and the latter was required by the guild to treat the boy as one of his own children. He was also required to testify not only to his ability as a mechanic or craftsman, but to his moral character, before the rank of journeyman could be granted. The education, therefore, given by the guild, or directed by its requirements, was twofold, viz.: that of the elementary school and that of the workshop. The boy was trained so as to prepare him for his calling, and society was assured of an intelligent skilled laboring class. His education, whether provided entirely by the guild in its own schools or not, can be attributed to the guilds: it is an early example of systematic industrial and vocational training.

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SUMMARY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN AND MEDIEVAL EDUCATION

I. Schools for religious instruction, Catechumenal and Catechetical, represent the first educational movements inaugurated by the Church. The Fathers, men of culture and learning, engaged chiefly in the work of apologetics, defending the doctrines of the Church and combating paganism. They saw the impracticability of Christian children attending the pagan schools; urged attendance at the monastic schools, insisted upon the necessity of sound Christian home training. Before the close of the Patristic period, the monastic, episcopal and parish schools had been already opened.

II. At the episcopal sees, episcopal or cathedral schools for training the clergy were widely established, also song schools. Parishes maintained elementary schools. Monasticism having spread rapidly in the West was a great educational force. Besides bringing civilization and the light of faith, the monks were the veritable teachers of the nations. They taught agriculture and the industrial arts, kept schools for the young, and founded libraries in which the remains of the ancient literatures were preserved for posterity.

III. The Revival of Charlemagne was felt throughout the dioceses of the Empire. Alfred the Great revivified learning in England. As the monastic school developed more provision was made for the systematic education of the laity as well as the clergy. A definite curriculum consisting of the Seven Liberal Arts was pursued. The monasteries then became the academies of higher learning, and the only libraries where the ancient manuscripts were preserved and reproduced. Women were educated in the palaces and convent schools, many of them becoming celebrated copyists and writers. Chivalry produced a higher type of soldier in the Christian knight and deeply influenced society. There appeared treatises on the content of education and encyclopedic works to preserve the learning of the past. Christian scholars were influenced by the Moors from whom they obtained Greek mathematical, medical and philosophical works. Some monasteries became especially distinguished as schools during the scholastic period. Interest in philosophy, which embraced theology, characterized scholasticism; all other branches were pursued by the scholastics as their writings and the wide range of studies in the universities show. The university, the

great educational achievement of the Middle Ages, established in all the countries of Christendom, created an academic world, and profoundly affected the culture of Europe, and all subsequent education. The canons regular and the religious orders of men and women extended their activity to the schools; their members were administrators, teachers and educational writers. Parish, chantry, town and guild schools were extensive in the late Middle Ages, and there were consequently many free schools providing an elementary education in the vernacular and in the useful arts.

Part III

Renaissance and Reformation

CHAPTER XVII

THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

The Renaissance, or Revival of Letters, which was the leading cultural and educational movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, began in Italy. It was there an enthusiastic return to antiquity, a rebirth of ancient Greek and Latin literature, and a movement of much more than literary significance, for it profoundly affected every phase of thought and life. Education profited by it in theory and in practice.

The Renaissance began in Italy in a period notable for its great men, its universal geniuses whose vocation was to "resuscitate antiquity, to gather up afresh the products of the classic past and so to blend them with the medieval spirit as to generate what is specifically modern. . . . The great characters of the Italian age were comprehensive and encyclopedic; the intensity of their force in one sphere is less remarkable than its suitableness to all. . . . They received their earliest education in the religion of the Middle Ages, their second in the schools of Greece and Rome."[1]

The Italians had always reverted to the past as the period of their national greatness; in literature they considered classic antiquity as their golden age. Their turning to it in the fifteenth century, with an enthusiasm which became almost a passion, was the climax of a tendency clearly discernible in Dante and Petrarch and only needing the thirteenth century and the progressive movements

[1] Symonds, *Revival of Learning*, 10ff. New York, 1888.

of the later Middle Ages to call it forth. We note then in **Dante** (†1321) and **Petrarch** the forerunners of the Renaissance.

Dante's influence is not attributed to any treatise on the Revival, but to the spirit of his later writings, in which he yearns for a new and broader culture than was afforded by the schools of the period. In *Il Convito, The Banquet*, he upholds the medieval idea of erudition as the aim of education, but its purpose is culture and refinement of soul. His poems abound in references to ancient authors both Pagan and Christian; he was especially devoted to Virgil whom he quotes about 200 times.[1]

Petrarch (†1374), a diligent student of Cicero, succeeded in making the classics better known and read. He pointed out their natural beauties to the first humanists in the University of Padua and succeeded in securing greater attention for the study of Cicero. He did not know Greek but earnestly endeavored to obtain teachers to instruct him. His chief influence on the Renaissance lay in the service he rendered by collecting manuscripts from all parts of Europe, in securing the establishment of humanistic studies in Padua; and in his writings, *De viris illustribus*, and the *Epistolae*.

Boccaccio (1313–1375) was more fortunate than Petrarch in endeavoring to master Greek. He aided humanism by collecting and improving manuscripts, especially Greek, and by his zeal for establishing the new studies at the universities. He founded the chair of Greek in Florence in 1350. The Latin works of Boccaccio gave him the only title to fame for two centuries after his death; that on mythology, *De genealogiis deorum gentilium*, very

[1] Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 1, 614. Cambridge, 1906.

naturally influenced the early humanists, and unlike the *Decameron* was widely read. Boccaccio's spirit suffered by acquaintance with the paganism of the classics; naturalism asserted itself both in his writings and in his life.

The University of Padua wielded a potent influence at the beginning of the Renaissance through the humanistic activities of **Giovanni Conversino da Ravenna** (†1405?) and **Gasparino Barzizza,** (†1431) both of whom were professors of rhetoric and Latin letters. The former, a pupil of Petrarch, by his excellent lectures on Latin obtained as students many professors of the University, and taught two of the best known humanistic educators, Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona. Barzizza ranks as the first Latinist of his time. None made a deeper study of Cicero, or used him better for educational purposes. He labored for years in search of the best texts of Cicero, annotated and edited them. Some of his pupils were distinguished humanists, *e.g.*, George of Trebizond, and Francesco Filelfo.

Emmanuel Chrysoloras (1350–1413), a Greek of Constantinople, who came to Italy on diplomatic business, accepted the chair of Greek in the University of Florence in 1397 and became the leading professor of Greek in the West. His advent in Italy marks the real beginning of the revival of Greek. He attracted great numbers of students to Florence, among whom were Guarino da Verona, and Pier Paolo Vergerio, who gave up his professorship in the University of Padua to become a student under him. Guarino afterward published the lectures of Chrysoloras on Greek grammar. This was the only available text for the study of Greek for many years. The humanists, who spared none in their criticisms, refer in the most respectful terms to Chrysoloras as a teacher and

scholar. They had a high opinion of his character and showed him more than usual honor during his residence in Italy. He seems to have been an attractive personality and an exemplary man both in public and private life. He became a communicant of the Catholic Church while in Italy, and sought to bring about the union of the Greeks with Rome.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Renaissance was firmly rooted in Italy. Universities and schools raised letters to the first place in the curriculum of studies. This was especially true of Pavia and Padua. Even when the universities did not follow this course, the towns forced them into it. Florence received Chrysoloras through the invitation of the citizens and not at the initiative of the University. Venice proceeded to establish chairs at Padua, and made all candidates for positions in the state service take courses in letters at the University. The new spirit invaded the courts of the nobility and the imperial chamber. The emperor would employ only a humanist as secretary, and the minor lords vied with one another to secure a famous follower of the new studies in their service. The papal court throughout the century was a center for humanistic gatherings and the rendezvous of the leaders. The popes were among the most liberal patrons of the scholars.

Nicholas V (1447–1455) invited an immense body of scholars to Rome, where he founded chairs of rhetoric for them, and designated many as textual critics and translators, rewarding them munificently. The Vatican Library came into existence during his pontificate, and the work of collecting and translating the ancient classics continued until his death. The library stands as evidence of his patronage as well as of the era of scholarship, for in the

last five years of his pontificate more of the Greek classics were done into Latin than in the five hundred years which have since lapsed. It is the greatest depositary of ancient classic manuscripts in the world. Other popes who were identified with the Renaissance were Pius II (1458–1464), Aeneas Sylvius, author of the educational treatise, *De liberorum educatione*, and Leo X (1513–21), who has been called the Maecenas of the Renaissance. The latter openly spoke of his appreciation of literature as a study, and declared that next to religion it gave the greatest satisfaction to the soul. The condition of the Roman University during his pontificate shows how favorably the new studies were received in the center of Christendom. Its chairs at that time were as follows: 3 of theology; 11 of canon law; 20 of civil law; 15 of medicine; 1 of botany (the first in Italy); 5 of philosophy; 2 of mathematics; 1 of astrology; 3 of Greek and 18 of rhetoric (Latin letters).

The Renaissance created new offices for scholars, opened a wider field for the educated, and, in consequence, there was no little strife and rivalry for honors and emoluments. Despite this and the bitter enmities which existed among the ambitious, a real spirit of study was manifested by the early humanists, and a willingness to undergo hardships and suffering to master the new studies. Many like Verona journeyed to Constantinople and remained there for years in order to obtain a perfect knowledge of Greek. The lofty purpose of the humanist educator is undeniable. It can be seen in the excellent treatises produced at that time and in the systems inaugurated in the Renaissance schools.

Many treatises appeared on the humanistic ideal in education, as for instance, *De ingenuis moribus*, by Pier Paolo Vergerio; *De studiis et litteris* by Leonardo Bruni

d'Arezzo; *De liberorum educatione*, by Pope Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius); *De educatione liberorum*, by Maffeo Vegio; and others by Manetti and Perotti which have since been lost. Cardinal John Dominici in his *Lucula Noctis*, a work on classical study, and in the *Rule for the Government of the Family* (*Regola del governo di cura familiare*) opposed the pagan tendencies of the movement and sounded a warning regarding the danger of the new studies which the best of the humanists were glad to heed.

Vergerio's treatise may be taken as representative of the aim of the humanistic scholars, who sought to draw from the study of ancient literature its cultural elements without detriment to Christian principles. Written in 1392, it was addressed to Ubertinus, son of Francesco Carrara, Lord of Padua.[1] As its title indicates it outlines a complete training for the young prince, in which character formation is the leading consideration. "The work," says Woodward, "which has been too much overlooked by later students of the Renaissance, was for a century and a half after its appearance amongst the most widely read of all of the productions of the Revival of Letters." Vergerio defined the humanistic idea of education and attributed to each study its place in a liberal education. "We call those studies liberal," he says, "which are worthy of a free man; those studies by which we attain and practice virtue and wisdom; that education liberal which calls forth, trains and develops these highest gifts of body and mind which ennoble men, and which are rightly judged to rank next in dignity to virtue only." A virtuous character is the only basis on which to build the humanistic training,

[1] Cf. Woodward, W. H. *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, Cambridge, 1897. Contains translation of treatises by Vergerio, d'Arezzo, Pope Pius II, and Battista Guarino.

for learning is not the antidote to vice and national wickedness. It may be used as the means to greater evil in a Claudius or a Nero. There remains no doubt of its supreme advantage to the virtuous, whether in the affairs of state, or in the enjoyment of recreation and leisure.

Literature is memory immortalized, shielding from death and oblivion the thoughts of great men in a noble form of expression. The subjects of liberal studies are history, the first and most important because of its attractiveness and utility to the man of affairs; moral philosophy, which in connection with history teaches truth, the secret of freedom; eloquence, which refines the truth learned in philosophy; all three tend to form the essentials of a liberal education, viz., sound judgment, wisdom of speech and integrity of conduct.

Literature or letters is the basis of all learning, which in turn assumes as a foundation a thorough knowledge of grammar, composition, and logic, the science and art of reasoning, that which enables the student to detect sophisms and fallacies in the arguments of others. Vergerio is reluctant to discard a subject which, however much abused by the scholastics, had a necessary place in the curriculum. Poetry was to be chosen judiciously, and only that which would prompt the finest feelings was to be read. The older subjects of the seven liberal arts, *e.g.*, the mathematical, are retained, and a study of nature recommended, for in the investigation of the laws and causes of natural phenomena Vergerio believed much valuable information was to be found.

In the treatment of the manner of study the author's long teaching experience is evident. He writes as one expressing the ideas and methods then accepted by the best educators—an implicit tribute to the pedagogical

thought of the time. Some notable features of Vergerio's treatise are the psychological analysis of the motives actuating the boy to study; attention given to natural endowments, tastes and capabilities; the treatment and correction of defects in the backward, unwilling and lazy; the aids to progress, such as rewards, emulation, encouragement; the consideration of the individual in everything,—in study, recreation and physical exercise. He opposed a general rule for all. As the practical application of the humanistic theory may be seen in the great schools of the Renaissance, further details will be omitted. The educational system devised by Vittorino da Feltre was in accordance with Vergerio's theory.

Vittorino da Feltre, the most famous of the humanistic schoolmasters, represents a type of lay teacher for which the Italy of the fifteenth century is remarkable.[1] An able scholar and humanist he was, like Guarino da Verona, a practical teacher who indefatigably labored to reduce the new studies to a system of teaching. His school produced an array of scholars and exerted a decided influence on humanistic education.

Vittorino de' Rambaldoni was born at Feltre, 1378, whence the surname by which he is best known. As noted above, he studied in the University of Padua under Barzizza and Ravenna. He devoted himself also to dialectic and philosophy. As a student he supported himself by tutoring. After receiving the doctorate he turned to mathematics under Pelacani da Parma and became a more successful teacher than his instructor. The same ardor for the study of Greek, that took Vergerio from the doctor's chair at Padua to the student's bench at Florence, that drew Guarino, Aurispa and Filelfo to Constantinople and

[1] Shahan, *Middle Ages*, 404. New York, 1904.

all the Florentines to the lectures of Chrysoloras, finally carried Vittorino to Venice to attend the school of Guarino da Verona, who had lately returned to Italy after a five years' residence in Constantinople. He spent eighteen months studying Greek with Guarino, who was then considered the best Greek scholar in Italy. In exchange, Vittorino imparted to Guarino, it is believed, a finer knowledge of Latin. The two humanists formed a friendship which lasted throughout life.

Vittorino succeeded Barzizza in the chair of rhetoric at Padua in 1422, and although a professor in the University, conducted a private school in his own household. There he received a limited number of students of the University and supervised their domestic life. After about a year, either being disgusted with the immorality of the city or unable to control the students, he resigned his chair and went to Venice where he again organized a school. In that year, 1423, he was invited by Gian Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, to undertake the education of his children, three boys and a girl. Vittorino accepted the invitation with the agreement that he could conduct a school at the court and receive other students; and he established at Mantua the school with which his name is most familiarly associated.

A villa, formerly the recreation hall of the Gonzaghi, was transformed by him into an ideal schoolhouse. Because of its pleasant surroundings and the spirit that prevailed therein, it was called the "Casa Jocosa," or "Pleasant House." All of the scholars were boarders and Vittorino endeavored to make the school as pleasant and enjoyable as the ideal home. Children of the leading families of Mantua, sons of other humanists like Filelfo,

Guarino, and Poggio, and poor children were admitted to the classes.

The instruction given was of the new humanist type, but Christian in character and spirit. It was not merely a literary training, but embraced the physical and moral requirements of a liberal education. Vittorino's academy was preeminently a preparatory or training school for life, as Monnier describes it, "un institut de vie."[1] He preferred to receive the students when very young. Their characters and powers of mind were then easily discernible; they had no prejudices and they had little to unlearn.

Although the fundamental branch of instruction was letters, Latin and Greek did not constitute the entire curriculum of studies. Arithmetic, geometry, algebra, logic, dialectics, ethics, astronomy, history, music and eloquence were all taught at Mantua and frequently by special teachers; for as the school grew in numbers and departments of study, specially trained instructors in logic and philosophy, masters in painting, music, dancing and riding, copyists and tutors, became associated with the teaching staff.

A novel method of study and teaching resulted from the humanistic conception of the value of classic literature. Latin no longer occupied the position of a preparatory study to dialectics and theology. It was studied for its own intrinsic value, as a means to full mental development and culture. The custom of exposing the metaphorical, allegorical, and mystical meaning of a passage after the literal had been given, disappeared when the humanist proposed to ascertain, after acquiring the literal sense and an idea of the historical background, what the passage without exaggeration or straining would naturally signify.

[1] Monnier, *Le Quattrocento*, i, 241. Paris, 1901.

The history of the work under study was to be given as vividly as possible. After a thorough grasp of a selection, the author's characteristics were pointed out, and the features of construction or diction worthy of imitation were indicated. The method allowed great freedom and elasticity in the treatment of an author. It depended for success on the teacher's powers of illustration and description. The Latin poets and historians were read in this way. Virgil ranked first among the poets. Each of the prose writers had his special merit in style or manner. Vittorino was the first to make a profound study of Livy, whose eloquence and richness of diction he greatly admired.

From the array of authors and the number of Greek scholars engaged at various times to teach at Mantua, the activity in studying Greek would seem to have been even greater than in Latin and the other branches. Perhaps the ardor with which the revival was undertaken is responsible for this impression. The rudiments were taught as in Latin. The historians Xenophon, Arrian and Herodotus were the first authors read. "Homer and Demosthenes occupy a place corresponding to Virgil and Cicero in Latin." Aeschylus was Vittorino's favorite among the dramatists. St. Chrysostom, whose style placed him on a level with the great pagan orators, was translated as an exercise in Latin prose composition. Nowhere else in Italy, it is believed, was Greek so thoroughly and successfully taught.[1]

This study of letters aimed at the formation of a good style in speaking and writing. The art of composition was taught very early in the course. The preliminary steps were to memorize certain formal phrases, and to

[1] Woodward, 54.

read aloud selected passages for acquiring a vocabulary and a sense of rhythm. Translations of Greek passages formed the first exercises, and later original compositions on set forms were demanded. The advanced students could versify with facility.

Although the intellectual training seems to have dominated, the physical was not merely provided for its good effect on the mind. Many of Vittorino's pupils were destined for a military life, and such a training was for them imperative. Apart from this fact which really demanded consideration, Vittorino's ideal of culture—a harmonious development of all the faculties of mind and body—prescribed such a course. With the pupil's health he was always particularly concerned. The location of the school afforded excellent opportunities for exercise and games in the open air. Certain exercises were obligatory and were performed in all kinds of weather. Excellence in games was highly prized, but Vittorino's aim was to develop hardiness and power of endurance rather than mere athletic skill. All were directed in some form of exercise, chosen usually according to their needs, but, at times, according to their tastes. Vittorino taught here as elsewhere by example, and participated in the field games.

He was an exemplary Catholic layman, and as a teacher strove to cultivate in his pupils all the virtues becoming the Christian gentleman. Every day had its regular religious exercises at which, like morning prayers and Mass, all assisted. He was a frequent communicant and desired his students to approach the Sacraments every month. He did not overlook the individual, but attained his success in overcoming faults and building up character by private direction and exhortation. His punishments

were intended as remedies, and were not administered immediately upon the discovery of an offense.

Vittorino's great educational service was to adjust the new humanistic studies to a system of teaching, and to show how they could be taught without compromising the principles of Christianity. He insisted on pleasant surroundings, made study attractive, and by attention to individuals, more profitable. He developed a novel method of physical training, respecting the needs of the various pupils. He eminently succeeded with the education of Cecilia Gonzaga, who became one of the most cultured women of her time and ended her life as a nun. Vittorino has left us no written accounts of his work, nor any educational treatises. What we know of him and his method we owe to his pupils.[1]

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[1] For an account of the famous humanists and scholars, statesmen and prelates whom he prepared for their careers, see Rosmini, *Idea dell' ottimo precettore nella vita e disciplina di Vittorino da Feltre.* Milan, 1845. An excellent description of his school and method will be found in Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators.* Cambridge, 1897. Another work by Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance,* (Cambridge, 1906) contains a chapter on Guarino da Verona, famous like Vittorino as a humanistic schoolmaster.

CHAPTER XVIII

RENAISSANCE IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Italian schools and scholars were largely responsible for the formation of those who introduced the Renaissance movement in the countries outside of Italy. The first humanistic teachers of France and Spain came directly under Italian influences; those of Germany and England were students in Italian schools, especially the universities. The earliest patrons of the Renaissance in these countries were statesmen and churchmen, who through residence or visits in Italy became followers of humanism and its enthusiastic propagators.

In France

Early humanistic influences in France can be discerned from the time of Petrarch's visit to Paris in 1361. His companion while there was Pierre Bersuire (†1362), a French priest who translated all of the books of Livy for King John the Good (John II, 1316–22). Under Charles the Wise (Charles V. 1364–80) many of the classics were translated into French, as for instance, some works of Aristotle by Nicholas Oresme (†1382), chaplain to Charles V; *De Senectute*, and *De Amicitia* of Cicero, by Laurent de Premierfait (†1418). The first humanist of note, **Jean de Montreuil** (1354–1418), a papal secretary, for a time connected with the courts of the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, and ultimately chancellor to Charles VI, was a student and admirer of Petrarch. He

was also a friend of Leonardo Bruni and spent some time in Rome as an envoy of the King. His friend **Nicholas de Clemanges** (1360–1440) taught the rhetoric of Cicero and Aristotle in the schools of Paris. The latter spent twelve years as papal secretary at Avignon, and later in life resumed his lectures at Paris. Many of the classics which then were imperfectly known in Italy, such as Cicero's *De Oratore* and *Pro Archia*, were familiar to him.[1]

The influence of the University of Paris is exemplified in the text-books prescribed for the academic course. "In the fourteenth century they included authors such as Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, Terence, with Sallust and Livy, as well as Cicero, Seneca and Quintilian."[2] We have already noted the familiarity of Gerson (†1429), Chancellor of the University with the ancient authors.

Although the Council of Vienne (1311) had decreed the appointment of two professors of Greek at Paris, the first to hold office was Gregorio Tifernas, a native of Città di Castello, Italy,[3] who had lived in Greece and taught the language at Naples. He lectured there for four years, and was followed in 1476 by George Hermonymus of Sparta, the instructor of Erasmus and Budé. The Italian, Aleander, who came to Paris in 1508, lectured also on Greek and perhaps Hebrew. He was chosen Rector of the University in 1512, became librarian of the Vatican in 1517, and was later elevated to the rank of cardinal.

The art of printing furthered the movement in France and the North generally, and consequently the work of the copyist must not be considered the important factor

[1] Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, ii, 167. Cambridge, 1908.

[2] Sandys, ii, 166.

[3] The ancient name of the city was Tifernum Tiberinum.

it was in Italy. The first book printed in France (1470), curiously enough, was the *Letters* of Gasparino da Barzizza, one of the early Italian humanistic scholars.

Guillaume Budé (Gulielmus Budaeus 1467–1540), fellow-student of Erasmus and Vives, should be designated as the most distinguished of French humanists. He first studied law at Orleans but like Leonardo Bruni d'Arezzo turned later to letters. "He taught himself Greek, and read widely in Latin."[1] Apparently he learned little from Hermonymus. As secretary to Louis XII he went to Rome on diplomatic missions during the pontificates of Julius II and Leo X. His work on Roman coinage, *De asse et partibus ejus*, which was nine years in preparation, won for him a universal reputation for learning. The *Commentarii linguae graecae*, a vast collection of solid material, dictionary, criticism and syntax in one, "established his fame as the first Greek scholar in Europe."[2] Besides philological studies he wrote *De studio litterarum recte et commode instituendo*, in which his views on classical learning are briefly set forth. Through his influence with Francis I was founded the Corporation of Royal Readers for the study of the classics and Hebrew, which afterward became the Collège de France.

Budé's chief educational treatise appeared in French bearing the title *De l'Institution du Prince, On the Education of a Prince.* This was dedicated to the young king, Francis I, and like the earlier treatises *de regimine principum* embodies Budé's ideal of training for the young ruler. He would have the prince become a student of philology, learned in Greek and Latin, widely read in history, both

[1] Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance*, 130. Cambridge, 1906.

[2] Woodward, *ibid.*

for his own complete education and appreciation of literature and for the patronage he should bestow upon scholars. Budé attacked the scholastics, and the methods of the University of Paris, in which he desired letters to enjoy chairs as well established as those of philosophy and theology. He was engaged in bitter controversies, and for many years was suspected of Calvinistic beliefs. This was disproved after his death.

Mathurin Cordier (1479–1564), or Maturinus Corderius, was a disciple of Calvin and after teaching some years in Paris and Bordeaux joined his master in the schools of Geneva. Cordier produced a work on Latin inflections, *De corrupti sermonis emendatione libellus*, and one on Latin conversation, *Colloquia*, both of which were used in France and Switzerland. His activity indicates the attention given to the classics at the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux, and it is felt that this and the other schools with which Cordier was identified were representative of those of France in the sixteenth century.

In Spain

The first notable humanist in Spain, **Antonio of Lebrija** (Antonius Nebrissensis, 1444–1522) spent twenty years in Italy before teaching the humanities as professor at Seville. He taught there several years and was afterward connected with the Universities of Salamanca and Alcalá. He published grammars of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew: his *Introductiones Latinae* was the first Latin grammar of note in Spain.[1] Lebrija was opposed by some of the older teachers of his country, especially by Amiguet, the instructor of Vives. He won over many Spanish

[1] Sandys, ii, 157.

scholars to the cause of humanism, so that in the early sixteenth century, especially in Salamanca, there were numerous professors and distinguished patrons like Cardinal Ximenes, founder of a college at Alcalá. Portugal also produced scholars and writers associated with the movement, among whom were Resende, historian and poet; the bishop Osorio, called the Cicero of Portugal; and Alvarez, the Jesuit, author of a Latin grammar long used in the schools of his order. Attention will be directed later on to a Spanish humanist whose influence was especially felt in England and Northern Europe.

In Northern Europe

The Brethren of the Common Life, an association of priests and laymen, founded by Gerard Groote (1340–84) at Deventer, Holland, should be noted as important factors in the spread of humanistic studies in the Netherlands and Germany. The members lived in community and chose teaching as one of their chief duties. The mysticism of Groote and the early brethren showed itself in their educational system, which before the Renaissance was not different on the academic side from that of the other medieval schools. The Brethren and their pupils, however, embraced the humanistic movement and were among the most influential agents in its propagation in the North. Their schools were elementary, and secondary, and in the latter a classical training was given. Some famous pupils were Thomas à Kempis, Erasmus, Gabriel Biel and Pope Adrian VI. Two of their pupils were especially active in the Renaissance in Germany, **John Wessel** (1420–89) and Rudolf Agricola. The former, who was a native of Groningen, Holland, studied with the

Brethren at Deventer. He learned Greek at Cologne from Greek monks who were then the guests of the Dominican convent in that city. He also pursued the humanities at Rome and Paris, and in the latter place, as teacher and student, he spent altogether about sixteen years. With Agricola and Reuchlin he shared the honor of introducing humanism in Germany and of expanding the curriculum of the schools of the Brethren. Wessel learned Hebrew as an aid to his Spiritual studies.

Rudolf Agricola of Groningen (1443–85), who latinized his Dutch surname of Huysmann and thus showed how thoroughly he was imbued with the new spirit, studied in the Universities of Louvain, Paris and Ferarra. He spent at least seven years in Italy and upon his return to the North had a reputation for proficiency in Latin, Greek, French and Italian. He accepted a lectureship at the University of Heidelberg, and sought like the best of humanists in Italy to maintain his Christian spirit and faith while pursuing the new studies. In elementary education he strongly advocated a careful moral formation and the study of the vernacular. Although a fervid humanist he advocated composition in the vernacular before Latin writing, and placed clearness above elegance in cultivating a good style. He wrote much on educational subjects—especially in his letters; his most famous pedagogical work was *De studio formando, On the Regulation of Study.* It influenced German education and especially the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life.[1]

Alexander Hegius (1433–98), a native of Heeck, Westphalia, was a pupil of Agricola, although ten years his

[1] Ihm, *Der Humanist Rudolf Agricolla, sein Leben und seine Schriften.* Paderborn, 1893.

senior. "When forty years of age," he said, "I came to young Agricola, from whom I have learned all I know or that others think I know." Through Hegius, who is thought to have been a member of the Brethren of the Common Life, and in his advanced years a priest, Agricola's influence was carried into the schools. The work of Hegius was that of the practical schoolmaster, who, in thorough sympathy with humanistic studies, influenced the movement by training some of the early humanistic educators, *e.g.*, Rudolf von Langen, Murmellius, Dringenberg and Erasmus. He conducted the school of Deventer for almost thirty years; at times had as many as 2,000 pupils in attendance; improved the text-books, and introduced new ones more suitable to the humanistic methods. The course followed at Deventer was imitated in many places and remained in use long after the death of Hegius.

Rudolf von Langen (1439–1519) as rector of the cathedral school of Münster, made that institution a center for humanistic studies, and most productive of famous teachers. **John Murmellius** (1480–1517) was vice-rector of this school at Münster under von Langen and contributed much to its fame as a teacher and writer. His *Encheiridion Scholasticorum* was a serviceable manual for teachers and pupils. He wrote many text-books, some of which were used until recent times. He was a successful rector in Altmaar and Deventer, and his aim in education can be seen in his saying: "The ultimate purpose of study can be no other than the knowledge and worship of God."

Under Ludwig Dringenberg, rector of the school of Schlettstadt, were trained two famous priests and educators: **Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg,** the great preacher of Strassburg and a real force for moral education, and **Jacob Wimpheling** (1450–1528), the rector of Heidelberg.

The latter merited the title of "Preceptor Germaniae," "Preceptor of Germany." He, too, upheld the Christian principle in learning and expounded it in his writings. *A Guide to German Youth* (1497) discusses school methods, qualifications of teachers and the religious aspect of education and is the "earliest systematic treatise on education by a German scholar."[1] *Youth*, written in 1500, treats especially of the moral basis of education; the *Compendium of German History*, a short account of German history to his own time, was written for use in the school and was of considerable influence. His saying illustrates his view of religion and virtue in education: "What does it profit us if all our learning be without noble purpose, all our industry without piety, all our knowledge without love of our neighbor, all our intelligence without humility, all our study without the formation of character?" He is considered one of the chief influences in the German humanistic movement.

Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522), the granduncle of Melanchthon, was born at Pforzheim, in the Black Forest, Germany. His father was employed at the Dominican convent and there he received his earliest education. He studied the humanities at the University of Paris, and although he pursued a course in law and obtained his degree, he chose teaching as a profession. The esteem in which he was held as a scholar and humanist was well merited for he contributed to the movement by collecting many Greek and Hebrew manuscripts and by publishing a Hebrew grammar and dictionary, the first given forth by a western scholar; he also compiled a Latin lexicon and Greek text-books, some of which were long in use in

[1] Monroe, *Text-Book in the History of Education*, 378. New York, 1909.

Germany. Reuchlin who adopted Melanchthon gave the latter his early humanistic training. In his declining years he was deeply grieved over Melanchthon's defection from the Church.

Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), of Rotterdam, Holland, the most famous of the humanists of northern Europe and whose influence pervaded the whole learned world, was the son of Gerard of Gouda and Margaretha Rogers, whose union was not sanctioned by the Church. He was called Erasmus at birth, and later chose Desiderius, the Latin equivalent of Erasmus. As noted above he came while a student at Deventer under the influence of Hegius and also of Agricola. An orphan at thirteen he was placed by his guardians in the monastery school of the Brethren of Common Life at Bois-le-Duc. In 1482 he entered the monastery of Emmaus at Stein near Gouda, a subject for the Augustinian order. He became a religious in 1488 and was ordained a priest in 1492, being then well content and pleased with this mode of life. He then wrote *De contemptu mundi, On Contempt of the World*, and, as Woodward says, he left no contemporary record of the discontent of which he later complained.[1] He had leisure to cultivate his literary and scholarly tastes.

Erasmus was dispensed from the cloistral obligations by the bishop of Cambrai, who intended to make him his secretary on account of his exceptional linguistic talents, and he was sent to Paris to continue the study of theology. Erasmus, however, devoted himself chiefly to the classics, and while pursuing these studies and associating with humanists developed an antipathy for scholastic theology and methods then in the highest favor at the University.

[1] Woodward, W. H. *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, 6. Cambridge, 1904.

He taught Latin privately and had among his students some young Englishmen who rendered him no little assistance then and later in life. He accompanied one of these, Lord Mountjoy, to England in 1499, and on the visit made the acquaintance of More, Colet and Warham, who were to be his patrons and life-long friends. It is believed that following the advice of Colet he devoted himself more assiduously to the study of the Scriptures and historical theology. Returning to Paris he continued his studies and produced the *Adagia* or selections from the classics. In 1502 he appeared at Louvain. A lectureship was offered him in rhetoric, which he declined in order to be free for study and writing. He visited London again in 1505, leaving in 1506 for a journey to Italy, chiefly to obtain instruction in Greek. He received the doctorate in theology at Turin and made a stay of almost a year at Bologna. Aldus Manutius, one of the most celebrated printers of Europe, induced him to settle in Venice and bring out another edition of the *Adagia*. There Erasmus entered the society of the best native Greek scholars then in Italy, and he profited by his intimate relations with Aldus. His famous journey to Rome took place in 1509 and there he was accorded a reception by the Cardinals that highly pleased him.

His five years' residence in England (1509–1514) mark the most productive part of his literary career from the educational viewpoint. On this visit Erasmus was made a professor of Cambridge; he also taught Greek privately. Then appeared the *Praise of Folly*, *Moriae encomium*, a bitter satire on the times, and one of the most widely read books of the day; the *De ratione studii*, *On the Method of Study*, written for Colet, who was organizing St. Paul's school, and *De copia rerum et verborum*, on Latin com-

position. He also revised the elementary Latin text-book of the head-master, Lily, a work which went through many editions in Erasmus' lifetime and still survives in a modified form in the present Eton Latin Grammar.[1] He also rendered into Latin the Greek Grammar of Theodore Gaza.

In 1516 Erasmus accepted the patronage of Archduke Charles, later Emperor Charles V, becoming one of his councilors at a fixed salary. From that time onward he was much in demand and received flattering invitations from princes and patrons to take up his residence in Paris, Vienna, and again in England. Erasmus, however, desired to be free for literary work and travel. He made his home in Basle, where he could write at leisure and attend to the publication of his books. Froben, one of the celebrated early printers and publishers, gave his works wide circulation. With the exception of a short sojourn in Freiburg, Germany, whither he fled to avoid the violence of the reformers and to be in Catholic surroundings, Erasmus passed the rest of his life at Basle. Here was published the *Colloquies*, *Colloquiorum formulae*, a book intended to supply formulae for elegant conversational style, which the University of Paris condemned because of its unfitness for general reading. It was, nevertheless, widely read. At Basle were also published the treatise on *Christian Matrimony*, *Institutio christiani matrimonii*, which contains a chapter on the training of children, and his best known educational treatise, *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, *On the Liberal Education of Children from Their Earliest Years* (1529).

Erasmus was about to take a journey to the Netherlands when stricken with his last illness. He died in communion

[1] Woodward, *ibid.*, 21.

with the Church and was buried with many honors from the Cathedral of Basle.

Owing largely to the trials of his youth and a physical malady from which he suffered most of his life, Erasmus was of an unhappy disposition and nature. By his peculiarities he annoyed and severely tried his best friends. Unstable and changeable he was more than once accused of duplicity. Erasmus' tastes, however, were literary and his habits peaceful, and this may to some extent account for the charges of weakness and cowardice so often made against him. With all his shortcomings, and they were many, he won and kept friends of the type of Blessed Thomas More and Pope Paul III, who evidently saw in him more than the brilliant humanist and scholar and could overlook his foibles. His relation to the reformers throws light on his character.

By his bitter criticism of the Church and things ecclesiastical Erasmus prepared the way for the Reformation. In his commentaries on the New Testament he advocated the exercise of private judgement and expressed views contrary to the teaching of the Church. He sympathized with Luther at the beginning of the revolt and always opposed the bull of excommunication. When the Reformation was well advanced he advocated a compromise with Luther, or a settlement of the troubles by a court of arbitration. When appealed to for support by the reformers he, however, claimed to maintain a neutral attitude. They charged him with duplicity, but Erasmus asserted that the reform he advocated was to be preached to the learned, not to the ignorant, that it was to respect the hierarchy and especially the Pope, to take place within the Church and not outside of it.

However opinions may vary regarding the character of

Erasmus, his position as a humanist remains unchallenged. He was undoubtedly the leading man of letters of his time, and can well be taken as representing the Renaissance literary spirit in its good and bad aspects.[1] There is no doubt of the serious educational bearing of many of his writings, although it is also true they received more attention than others of the period which were of higher educational value, because of Erasmus' anti-ecclesiastical attitude. He contributed to the furtherance of humanism by editing many of the ancient classics and writings of the Fathers and through his *Colloquies* and *Praise of Folly* which were read in the schools.[2]

Erasmus was a thorough humanist in the sense that he believed the classics to be the basis of a liberal education, an aid rather than a hindrance to Christian training. He found much in antiquity beside letters, which he would restore to the world of his own day. His ideal involved "a universal language—Latin, a universal church, a uniform standard of culture, and perpetual peace."[3] He disliked the vernaculars, refusing to learn Italian or English when in the countries where they were spoken, for he believed that in the restored classics were to be found the important elements then needed in Christian society for the reign of culture. They were to become effective through the education of the young.

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[1] Catholic Encyclopedia, *Erasmus.*

[2] Woodward, W. H. *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (Cambridge, 1904), contains English translations of *De ratione studii* and *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis.* Other treatises of educational interest are *Dialogus Ciceronianus, Dialogue on Ciceronianism; De civilitate morum puerilium, On Courtesy of Manners in Boys.* Cf. Reichling, *Ausgewählte Pädagogische Schiften des Desiderius Erasmus.* Freiburg, 1906. Becher, *Die Ansichten des Erasmus über die Erziehung und den ersten Unterricht der Kinder* (1890).

[3] Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Renaissance,* 113. Cambridge, 1906.

Erasmus gave attention to the first steps in child training, the care of the infant physically, mentally, and morally, as it devolved upon the parents. In fact, *De Pueris* is chiefly devoted to the question of early training. He dwells upon the importance of home influence, the unceasing care of parents regarding the beginning of systematic instruction, which he would have begin in the seventh year, under competent and carefully selected teachers, in the home or in the town school. The teacher's office is to discern the pupil's capacity, his special aptitudes and to apply a method accordingly. "All knowledge," he says, "falls into one of two divisions: the knowledge of 'truths,' and the knowledge of 'words': and if the former is first in importance the latter is acquired first in the order of time. They are not to be commended who, in their anxiety to increase their store of truths, neglect the necessary art of expressing them."[1] Instruction begins with object teaching; the child's vocabulary is derived from the familiar things about him; conversation is the first means of expression and a fuller knowledge of words comes from learning ancient stories, historical and mythical, from descriptions of animal and plant life, all of which should be illustrated by pictures.

The letters of the alphabet were taught by pictures, by letter-shaped biscuits and by ivory tablets; the first reading lessons were to be interesting in themselves and attractive to the child; writing was also to be taught pleasantly, "per lusum" by way of play. Erasmus outlined in *De ratione studii* the reading for his school. His *Colloquies* was in frequent use as a reader. He gave a definite place to all prose writers and poets in his curriculum. Like most of the humanists he urged a special study of the

[1] *De ratione studii.* Cf. Woodward, *Erasmus*, 162.

Letters of Cicero. Grammar was taught in accordance with the advance of the student in the reading of authors, and in the art of expression. It was a means of progress in either direction, and was not studied merely for its own value. Erasmus recommended the *Rudimenta* of Nicholas Perotti, the pupil of Vittorino da Feltre. The ancient authors were the models of composition in all the accepted forms: the historians were to be studied both for matter and for style. Other subjects of the curriculum, such as arithmetic, music, astronomy, dialectic, were necessary but subordinated to letters.

Erasmus included the education of girls in his plan, but not as elaborately nor as systematically as another Renaissance educator, Juan Luis Vives, whom we shall later consider. It is felt that Erasmus based his theory on the earlier treatise of Vives and on conditions prevalent in Italy, which were superior in this respect to those of northern Europe. His argument was that woman should be prepared for her place in society as daughter, wife and mother, and that refinement and culture were indispensable in the mother who is charged with the duty of rearing children.

For all children he desired a sound moral and religious formation. This was to be sought from the beginning and assiduously cultivated by parents and teachers. The manner of training he advocated for this end was that commonly used by the earlier humanists.

It must be remarked in connection with the influence of Erasmus that his position in the literary world lent peculiar force to his views. A great publicist and the most widely read author of his time, his views, whether original with him or not, were extensively circulated and read. In the troubled times which followed his death, his

bitter criticism of the monks and monastic schools attracted more attention to his writings from those outside the Church than they perhaps would otherwise have received.

Juan Luis Vives was born at Valentia, Spain, of a noble but impoverished family in that eventful year in world history, 1492. He received his early education under Jerome Amiguet, notable for his opposition to the humanist, Antonio de Lebrija, and to the humanistic movement generally, a man, who in our view, should be considered as behind his time rather than in advance of it. Vives then shared the views of his master, and at the age of fifteen wrote a book against the grammarian Lebrija. This work is unfortunately lost. It would be a precious relic of the early and perhaps enthusiastic views which he later abandoned. Vives also studied law in Valentia. At the age of eighteen he entered the University of Paris, and during his career there was an exceptional student of letters and philosophy, especially dialectics. During his stay in Paris he began to look more favorably upon the new studies, and to be attracted to the cause of the humanists. Later, at the University of Louvain, when he came into contact with Erasmus and other distinguished humanists, he embraced the movement and became a noble example of the Catholic scholar of the Renaissance. At the completion of his studies Vives went to Bruges in Belgium, which had a considerable Spanish population, and resided there for the rest of his life. His activities as a writer and teacher took him again to Paris, to Louvain and to England, but Bruges he considered his home.

Vives embraced the work of teaching as a profession. In Louvain he had obtained, perhaps at the recommendation of Erasmus, a distinguished pupil in William of Croy, the youthful Bishop of Cambrai, and later Cardinal

Archbishop of Toledo. His associates at that famous seat of learning included the most notable scholars of the time, as, for instance, Erasmus, Martin van Dorp, Adrian Dedel, who afterward ascended the papal throne as Adrian VI. Vives could then be classified with the humanists. Erasmus had been enthusiastic in receiving him at Louvain, had proclaimed him a great philosopher, and a savant of incomparable powers as a speaker and a writer. He knew no one with whom he could compare Vives for his powers of expression.

Vives, then only twenty-six years of age, was really a prolific writer. Spiritual works like his *Meditations on the Seven Penitential Psalms*,[1] and on the *Passion of Christ*,[2] written most probably for his pupil, had been followed by treatises on *De Senectute* of Cicero,[3] and on the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics* of Virgil.[4] In 1518, besides a philosophical treatise on man, *Fabula de homine*,[5] appeared his treatise on the beginnings of philosophy—*De initiis, sectis, et laudibus philosophiae*,[6] the earliest history of philosophy ever written in Latin. But the most startling of his writings, which attracted universal attention, was the *Liber in pseudo-dialecticos*,[7] in which he attacked the dialecticians or the scholastics, and took definite issue with them on the study of philosophy and letters. He

[1] *In septem psalmos penitentiales meditationes.* Opera, ii, 147. (Basel edition, 1555, to which the references here are made. The best edition of his works is that of Majansius, published at Valentia, 1782-1790.)

[2] *De Passione Christi meditatio, ibid.*, ii, 193.

[3] *Anima Senis, sive praelectio in librum de Senectute Ciceronis, ibid.*, ii.

[4] *Interpretatio allegorica in Bucolica Virgilii*; *Praelectio in Georgica Virgilii. Ibid.*, ii.

[5] Opera, ii, 265.

[6] *Ibid.*, ii, 4.

[7] *Ibid.*, i, 273.

visited Paris shortly after publishing the work and, it is believed, then made the acquaintance of Budé, whose name appears so frequently in his writings in connection with the study of Greek.

Upon his return to Louvain Vives accepted in addition to his tutorial work a professorship in the University. His subjects were law, philosophy, and letters, and there is no lack of evidence in the writings of Erasmus and other scholars of the period that he attracted great numbers of the learned to his courses. In this two-fold capacity of tutor and professor he continued until after the death of Cardinal Croy in 1521, when, broken in health as a result of his constant application to study and teaching, he was forced to retire to Bruges. The stress of poverty added to his sufferings, and when convalescing he was in need of a patron to enable him to continue his literary work. He hoped to interest King Henry VIII of England and thereby obtain a pension from him. Through the services of Thomas More, who greatly admired his writings, and Cardinal Wolsey he eventually succeeded in interesting the English Court if not the King personally.

In 1523 Vives wrote *De institutione feminae christianae*,[1] *On the Instruction of a Christian Woman*, which, dedicated to Queen Catherine of England, brought him directly into favor at the Court. This educational treatise was one of the most popular books of the century. Before the year 1584 it had seen three French, two Spanish, and two German translations. It was translated into English by Richard Hyrde about 1540, and is therefore one of our earliest educational documents on that subject. Vives was in that same year invited to England, where he acted in the double capacity or office of professor and tutor—professor

[1] Opera, ii, 650.

at Oxford, and tutor at the Court to the Princess Mary.

The career of Vives in England was brilliant indeed. He was esteemed as the most learned humanist of the time, whose lectures it was fashionable to attend. It is recorded that the King and Queen were more than once present at them. Oxford honored him with the degree of Doctor of Law. At the Court he was much in demand because of his scholarship and literary standing. Perhaps the affection of Catherine, and her pride in having a distinguished countryman near her, may have accounted for much of this popularity. At any rate, Vives became her councilor and was allowed a knowledge of domestic affairs not given to others. In the light of subsequent trials which came to the noble Queen, can we not say that there was more than educational significance attached to his little treatise, *De officio mariti*,[1] *On the Duty and Office of a Husband*, which was written at this time, when the most conspicuous husband of the realm was sorely in need of Christian direction? This little work was translated into English in 1550 by Thomas Paynel.

On account of his interest in the matter of the divorce Vives incurred the displeasure of the King, was banished from the Court, and escaped with the comparatively light punishment for that time—imprisonment for six weeks. When liberated he hastened to Bruges, and although Catherine later solicited his assistance at the trial, Vives refused to return to England. He did not believe that a defence of Catherine's cause would avail anything. It is worthy of note that a remarkable book by Vives, *De subventione pauperum*,[2] *On Relief of the Poor*, was dedicated

[1] Opera, ii, 595.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 890.

to the municipality of Bruges. In that work we have Vives' ideas on the organization of public charities, an exposition on which was based, so it is believed, the English system of caring for the poor.[1] While in England he had written two short educational treatises under the title *De ratione studii puerilis*,[2] one dedicated to Catherine of Aragon, and intended for Princess Mary, and the other addressed to Charles of Mountjoy, a pupil of Vives and son of one of his benefactors. They treat the question of study for the boy and girl respectively. Of the pedagogical ideas expressed in these treatises we shall speak later. To this time also belong his legal treatise, *De consultatione*,[3] and the translations of two orations of Isocrates. The collection of pious admonitions and adages which he called the *Bodyguard of the Soul*, *Satellitium Animae*,[4] and also the *Introductio ad sapientiam*,[5] which was translated into English by Sir R. Moryson in 1540 under the title, *Introduction to Wysdome from Vives*, were written during a vacation spent in Bruges.

Upon his final return to Bruges after the troubles of court life, Vives' industry as a writer did not diminish. He was again unfortunately in want, and had not friends in England and on the Continent come to his aid he would have lacked the barest necessaries of life. He was chiefly engaged in writing. Among the numerous productions of this period which cover the field of theological, philosophical, and legal studies, some of which, especially the theological, were remarkable in a layman, is to be found his great educational work, *De disciplinis*.[6] On this one

[1] *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, xxvii, 342.
[2] Opera, i, 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, 154.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii, 96.
[5] *Ibid.*, ii, 70.
[6] *Ibid.*, i, 321.

work alone the claims of Vives as an educator might be safely based. It is a masterful exposition of the educational condition of the time and an embodiment of the views of a distinguished Catholic educator and real reformer of the Reformation period. In conjunction with the treatises *On the Method of Study*, *On the Instruction of a Christian Woman*, *On the Office and Duty of a Husband*, the *Introduction to Wisdom*, and other treatises on special phases of educational work, or on special subjects like the study of language, philosophy, etc., this work, *De disciplinis*, affords us a real thesaurus of pedagogical wisdom. It is divided into two principal parts: the first gives the many causes for the decline of the sciences: grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, etc., and the second contains an exposition of the reforms necessary in the schools and the means for their accomplishment. The latter, which is constructive throughout, offers Vives' practical reflections on such important topics as the location of the school, the qualifications of teachers, the curriculum, methods to be employed, discipline, etc. We might select some of the important educational principles and ideas for which Vives stood, many of which were adopted by later educators and are often considered original with them.

Although Vives proposes to treat of education in the following order: "quae, quomodo, quatenus, a quibus, quo loco tradenda singula," he begins with the latter, the location of the school. It should be built, he says, on the outskirts of the city, but not on the boundaries of the kingdom where wars are frequent; in an airy place, not amid noisy surroundings, not on a public highway, nor again near the court. It should be in a place attractive to the pupils themselves.

More important than the selection of a site for the

school is the choice of the teachers. Learning alone should not suffice to determine fitness, but the skill to teach others, probity of life, and devotedness to the calling should also be demanded. The teacher is not a seller of wares,—"nunquam bene traditur disciplina quae venditur." He should not be avaricious, nor inordinately ambitious, thirsting for honors at the expense of his pupils. He should be paid a fixed salary, and should not be striving to attract the wealthier students so as to increase his emoluments. In all things he should be an example and model for the imitation of his pupils. Vives favored teaching under inspection before the candidate for the office was awarded his degree or license to teach, and he expected that the teacher should also possess the faculty of getting along well with others.

The material management of the school was to be confided to the students themselves, who would select the stewards from the student body and provide the supplies and the service. He believed that the food should be simple, nourishing, and of a kind easily procured.

Of the disputations so closely associated with the scholastic method he disapproved. The real purpose of the disputation, seeking truth, was, of course, good, but in his time this was not always the end in view. Too many strove for skill or mastery over others and not for the truth. "Ingenium contra veritatem sumit arma." Anything subversive of truth was unworthy of the Christian, and as far as his experience permitted him to judge, most of the disputants closed the disputation more stubborn in their beliefs, more callous in their contentions without becoming more learned or better morally.

The vernacular which is learned at home should be the language first used in the classroom. The teacher must

be ready to correct mistakes, and see that the native tongue is spoken and written correctly. Like all of the humanists, he believed that Latin was the language of the cultured, but while he was devoted to the ancient classics, he also desired that modern authors be read, as *e.g.*, Erasmus, Sadoleto, Bembo and Pico della Mirandola. He favored, as we know from his *De institutione feminae christianae*, the reading of the modern authors in the vernacular, in Spanish, Italian, etc. Like the best of the humanists, he did not approve of the promiscuous reading either of the ancient or of the modern authors, only those with a wholesome moral tone were to be recommended. So, for example, he deprecated the reading of Ovid and Boccaccio.

The various other subjects of the curriculum, like geography, mathematics, history, were treated by Vives with a spirit that is surprisingly modern. He shows the order in which they should be taught, and recommends, for instance, a study of geography not only for an understanding of the ancient authors as did many of the humanists, but especially for its value to the man of affairs from a commercial and practical viewpoint. History would broaden one's culture, and the moral effect of great biographies like those of Charlemagne and the Saints he did not fail to notice and commend.

If he demanded much of the teacher, his exactions from the parents for the careful moral training of the young were also many and minute. The home education was most significant for the whole life course. We have seen that he included in his scheme the education of girls. In their regard he insisted on training in the household arts, in cooking, spinning, and in the care of the sick. As an inspiration for their study of letters he calls to mind the

noble example of cultured women of ancient times and of his own day, and mentions the notable instances of Queen Catherine and of the daughters of Thomas More among the ladies of England. The Christian woman was to be trained above all in the practice of virtue. In his plan of study written for the young princess, he says, "The way to live is not less to be cultivated than the way to learn," and, if he recommended general culture for the young woman, he especially desired that she possess that refinement which the reading of the New Testament, the Fathers, the Christian poets, and good books like the *Utopia* of Thomas More would bring.

Vives advocated the use of the inductive method, and in this anticipated Bacon by over fifty years. He therefore urged the cultivation of the power of observation and investigation. He respected the individual capacity of the pupils and insisted on self-activity. No students were to be forced to learn. Those who could not be induced to learn in his school he sent home lest they should waste their time. The doctrine of imitation is constantly referred to by him and used in his methods. He demanded meetings of teachers to plan the work of the students. He encouraged physical exercises and the care of health. Above all, he labored for the development of a sound Christian character by means of religious and moral training.

The Catholic spirit pervades everything Vives produced. His profound knowledge of theology and the sacred sciences, his love for the Church and veneration for ecclesiastical authority, his devotion to the cause of Catholic unity when it was so terribly assailed, his piety, are not less remarkable than his untiring and noble zeal in behalf of Christian education. His educational writings

are real bequests to modern pedagogy and ought to guarantee him the position he earned as the foremost educator of the Reformation period. As has been truly said, "He founded no school, but the influence of his powerful mind has been clearly felt, although not always acknowledged by those who have profited by his writings."[1]

In England

Influences which contributed to the introduction of the Renaissance in England go back as far as Chaucer (1328–1400), who visited Italy three times and was familiar with the works of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Chrysoloras and Poggio both were in England early in the fifteenth century; and many Englishmen attended the council of Basle, thereby coming into immediate contact with the Italian leaders of the Revival. In England, the first to render real service to the movement was Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1391–1447), who, in order to learn Latin thoroughly, employed Antonio Beccaria of Verona, the disciple of Vittorino da Feltre, and who also encouraged the humanists D'Arezzo and Decembrio in their literary works. Another nobleman, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester (1427–70), who traveled extensively and studied at Padua, and Rome, continued this influence. He translated the *De Amicitia* of Cicero and had a commanding style in speaking and writing. Englishmen of note, who, as students of Guarino da Verona at Ferrara and other teachers in Italy, ardently espoused the cause, were Andrew Holes, Reynold Chickeley, William Grey, Bishop of Ely; John Free, Bishop of Bath; John Flemming and John Gunthorpe.[2]

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[1] *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, xxvii, 351.

[2] Rosmini, *Vita e Disciplina di Guarino Veronese e de'suoi discepoli*, iii. (Brescia, 1806.) Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, ii, 221.

The Benedictine, William Selling, after having longed for the privilege for many years, went to Italy with another monk, William Hadley, and studied for three years in Padua, Bologna and Rome. He brought many manuscripts with him on his return. As Prior of Canterbury, he attracted attention for his scholarship and Latin oratory. A pupil of Selling, **Thomas Linacre** (1460–1524), also resorted to Italy. In the ten years passed there Linacre studied medicine and the classics. He was privileged to be present at the instructions of Politian in the household of the Medici at Florence, and thus formed a lasting friendship with the future Pope Leo X. He held the office of royal physician to Henry VIII, and enjoyed a lucrative practice among the nobility. In 1520 he resigned this office to become a priest. His endowments of chairs in Greek and medicine at Oxford and Cambridge, and his foundation of the Royal College of Physicians entitled him to rank among the notable patrons of learning; his translations from the Greek, especially of treatises of Galen, and his works on Latin grammar were of service in the schools. With Linacre are also to be grouped his friends and associates in the movement, *viz.*, William Grocyn and William Latimer, teachers of Greek at Oxford, both of whom studied in Italy.

John Colet (1467–1519), the Dean of St. Paul's, studied in France and Italy and returned to England a thorough humanist. He founded St. Paul's School, London, securing for it a large endowment. This school remained on its original site until 1884 when it was transferred to Hammersmith. By this foundation, by his preparation of the statutes which have often been reprinted, and by his organization of the curriculum and teaching staff, Colet merited a place among the promoters of humanism

in England. **William Lily** was appointed head-master under him, and produced a Latin grammar which was widely used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Sir Thomas More (1478–1535), chancellor of England under Henry VIII and friend of many of the foregoing scholars and humanists like Vives and Erasmus, upheld the best elements of the literary Renaissance. His household has been described as a school, for there were entertained distinguished scholars; there learned discussions took place and there his children were educated.[1] Of it Erasmus wrote: "You would say that in that place was Plato's academy. But I do the house injury in likening it to Plato's Academy. . . . I should rather call it a school, or university, of Christian religion. For there is none therein who does not study the branches of a liberal education. Their special care is piety and virtue."[2] More's letters to his children and their instructors best express his educational views. "What doth the fame of being a great scholar bring us, if it be severed from virtue, other than a notorious and famous infamy," he wrote to one of the teachers. He strongly favored the education of women, and his own daughters were among the most cultured of their time. "And thus you may conjecture," says his biographer, "how learned his daughters were, to whom, for this respect, Erasmus dedicated his Commentary upon Ovid *de Nuce*. Lewis Vives also writeth great commendations of this school of Sir Thomas More's in his book to Queen Catherine of England."[3]

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[1] More, Cresacre. *Life of Sir Thomas More* (1631). Cf. Watson, *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*. New York, 1912. Contains chapter on the School of Sir Thomas More taken from the *Life* by Cresacre More.

[2] *Epistolae*. Undated letter to John Faber.

[3] Cf. Watson, *Vives*, etc., 186. From More, Cresacre. *Life of Sir Thomas More*.

The earliest humanistic treatise in English was the *Governour* of **Sir Thomas Elyot** (1490–1546), a lawyer and clerk of the Council under Henry VIII, who acted as agent of the king at the court of Charles V in the divorce proceedings. The treatise reproduces the ideas of the Italian humanists more fully than any other English production of the period. It expresses similar views on the care of the child from earliest infancy, particularly in regard to virtue, the selection of nurse, tutor and master. Before being placed under the master the child must be taught to speak Latin by the tutor, being able to tell the names of the familiar things about him, the parts of the body, garments, etc. He is to have regular recreation, physical exercise and games. Music is to be taught early and Greek as a subject comes before Latin, the latter having been begun by conversation. If it has not been learned then both are studied together. Like Erasmus he approved of only a little grammar in the beginning. After the first steps were learned, easy authors were read; in Greek, Aesop's *Fables*. The matter was chosen to suit the moral needs of the child. Elyot maintained that after translation the lesson should be learned by heart, giving thereby undue value to memory. His idea of the teacher is interesting, for he would have him be (1) a Latinist, widely read in all branches of Latin literature; (2) a musician, to teach the subject, music, and to appreciate the beauties of poetry; (3) an astrologist, to understand the allusions found in poetry and prose to the heavenly bodies; (4) a philosopher, to teach moral philosophy and train to good conduct. The treatise had a real influence on English educators, especially Ascham, whom we shall consider later on.[1]

[1] Laurie, *Educational Opinion from the Renaissance*, 38. Cf. Woodward, *Education during Renaissance*, 268ff.

Elyot also compiled a Latin-English dictionary, the first of its kind published. A little known but significant work was his *Defence of Good Women*, written probably in 1536, one of the numerous treatises of the period in praise of learning, culture, and virtue in women. It is probably the first imitation in English of the Platonic dialogue, and is further interesting since it deals with "one example among us, as well of fortitude, as of all other virtues"—an allusion to the discarded Queen, Catherine of Aragon, for whom, it seems, the book was intended. It bears no dedication, as a dedication to her would then have been unsafe for anyone to dare. Elyot is therefore grouped with Vives, Hyrde and Sir Thomas More among the advocates of higher education for women and supporters of Catherine's cause.[1]

In **Roger Ascham** (1515–68) humanism saw a more practical application to the schools. Much of his life was devoted to teaching. At Cambridge he taught Greek both in his student days and later as lecturer, and he contributed largely to the firm establishment of Greek in that university. He was the tutor of Princess Elizabeth. As secretary of the English embassy to Germany he learned of the theories of Sturm, although he did not meet the latter while there. On his return he held the office of Latin Secretary to the Court under Edward VI, Philip, Mary and Elizabeth. His prominence in public life, as with so many of the humanists, gave weight and influence to his views which undoubtedly favored the advance of classical studies. His educational work, the *Schole-*

[1] Cf. Watson, *Vives and Renaissance Education of Women.* Contains the first reprint of Elyot's treatise since 1545, and reprint of Hyrde's treatise on the education of women which was written as an introduction to the translation of Erasmus's treatise on the Lord's Prayer, by Margaret Roper, daughter of Sir Thomas More. Hyrde was translator of Vives' *Instruction of a Christian Woman* which was printed in 1540.

master, did not appear until after his death (1570). It is of special merit in regard to the method of study. Ascham repeats many of the educational views of Elyot and the Italian humanists, but in the method of teaching Latin and Greek he had positive views of his own and practical methods to advocate.

The *Scholemaster* consists of two books, the first on "The Bringing-up of Youth" and the second on "The Ready Way to the Latin Tongue." In the second his procedure is outlined. After a slight knowledge of the noun and verb the pupil takes the author in hand, for example, the *Letters* of Cicero. The teacher tells cheerfully and plainly the cause and matter of the Letter, construes it into English and makes the meaning clear to the child, then parses it perfectly. A short time afterward the child translates and parses the passage, being sure of its entire meaning. He then takes a note book and writes his translation without receiving help from anyone. After an hour he translates the English rendition back into Latin in another note book. His Latin rendering is then compared by the teacher with the original and the resemblances or differences pointed out. The pupil was to be warmly commended for the good features of his translation. "For I assure you," Ascham says, "there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good wit, and encourage a will to learning, as is praise." The rules and grammatical constructions were indicated by the pupil after the translation. He was allowed to use his grammar when translating, and taught to follow the method for Greek as well as Latin, although he could also render the Greek into Latin instead of English. Technical grammar was thus learned in the language itself and in the practice of the art of expression. In this respect Ascham resembled Erasmus and other humanists, but his double translation and use of separate

note-books was, as a methodical device, apparently original with him. He made the student use three note-books: one each for the translation, the retranslation, and the classification of phrases and forms of speech, metaphors, etc.

Ascham also believed in imitation, and especially repetition. He would have lessons repeated until thoroughly known. In discipline he distinguished between intellectual and moral failures. For the first, gentleness was to accomplish more than severity, and a love for learning more than fear of the teacher. Dislike for study he attributed to the teacher rather than to the child. He only agreed to the use of the rod for moral offenses. Ascham reminds us of Vergerio in his knowledge of boy nature and classification of the different kinds of boys. The *Scholemaster* has little on physical training, but Ascham's other work, *Toxophilus*, on archery, advocates physical exercises and recreation. In the former book he insisted on the value of a good constitution, but, as Laurie says, his exercises are more for pastime than for development.

Although the general humanistic movement was furthered by the interest of a distinguished teacher like Ascham, the methods of the schools, even in Cambridge, were not seriously affected. The *Scholemaster*, however, subsequently came to be more highly regarded. Dr. Johnson said of it: "It contains the best advice that was ever given for the study of languages." Ascham, who was a Protestant, could not refrain from bitterness when speaking of the monks or of Catholic Italy.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE REFORMATION

In Germany

The Reformation of the sixteenth century, primarily a religious and social movement, had an immediate and serious effect on education. A sudden revolt against the Church and ecclesiastical authority, it struck a severe blow at the educational institutions then everywhere flourishing, with the result that schools were disorganized and in many places closed; the people lost interest in education and, as we know from the complaints of Luther and Melanchthon, refused to send their children to the schools; learning itself seemed to be threatened. As Paulsen, the Protestant historian, says: "The first effect of these events on the educational institutions was destructive; the old schools and universities were so bound up with the Church in all respects—socially, legally and economically—that they could not but be involved in its downfall. The mere cessation of the prospects of clerical livings was bound to exercise a deterrent influence in regard to school and university studies. Then followed the Peasants' War, with its unmerciful devastation on both sides; and thus it came about that the ten years between 1525 and 1535 resulted in a depression of learning and education which is without a parallel in history. The figures of attendance at the universities were reduced to one quarter of their former amount, and the same was probably the case with the schools, so that Erasmus could

exclaim: 'Wherever Luther prevails, the cause of literature and learning is lost.'"[1]

Nowhere was the effect more noticeable than in the universities. If the monasteries and their schools were destroyed and their funds confiscated, these higher institutions were practically depopulated. Janssen has furnished statistics for many of them as well as for the lower schools. Cologne, for example, which usually had at the close of the Middle Ages about 2,000 students, in 1516 had 370; in 1521, 251; and in 1534, only 54; Erfurt, Luther's university, enrolled in 1521, 311; and in 1524, 34; Rostock, which usually had about 300 students, enrolled in 1525, 15; Vienna matriculated in 1519, 661; in 1532, one of the Reformation years, 12 students. The ancient University of Prague, which in the fifteenth century enrolled thousands of students, was left with 8 professors and 30 students in 1550.[2]

Some other notable effects of the Reformation were to obtain the support of the State for the maintenance of schools, since the Church of the Reformers was unable to maintain them; to endeavor to instruct all adherents of the new faith in reading, that they might exercise their privilege of private judgment; and to disseminate the Bible more widely in the vernacular. It cannot be concluded, however, that the Reformation, as has often been asserted, first established public schools and elementary schools, for there were more free schools and better provision for elementary education before the Reformation than there were for a century afterward; nor can it be concluded that the Reformation first gave the Bible in the

[1] Paulsen, *German Education*, 54. New York, 1908.

[2] Cf. Janssen, Joh. *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, i, 93; iii, 355. London, 1896.

vernacular, for in Germany alone there were at least twenty editions before that of Luther. "The number of translations both of single books of the Old and New Testaments, as well as of the complete Bible, was indeed very great. We have evidence of twenty-two editions of the Psalms with German translations up to 1509, and twenty-five German versions of the Gospels and Epistles up to 1518. Between this period and the separation of the Churches at least fourteen complete editions of the Bible were published in High German, and five in Low German dialect."[1]

THE REFORMERS

Martin Luther (1483–1546) was born at Eisleben, the son of a miner. During his childhood the family moved to Mansfeld and there his school life began. His father was then prosperous. Luther studied the humanities at Magdeburg and Eisenach, and in his eighteenth year entered the University of Erfurt intending to study law. Although this was a humanistic center Luther did not go deeply into the new studies. In fact he never became a humanist. He entered the monastery of the Hermits of St. Augustine in Erfurt in 1505. What his motives were in doing so is a much debated question. His own accounts of incidents in early life are very conflicting and misleading, and were undoubtedly colored by his later experiences. An unhappy home life and fear of death, he spoke of as the chief reasons. "When I was terror-stricken and overwhelmed by the fear of impending death, I made an involuntary and forced vow;" so he wrote years later when telling his father the reasons for his defection from the Church.

[1] Janssen, *ibid.* i, 56.

Ordained a priest in 1507, Luther was the following year appointed a teacher of philosophy in Wittenberg. He continued his theological studies and in 1509 was recalled to Erfurt. His visit to Rome in 1511, perhaps as the representative of houses of his order, did not weaken his faith. After his return from Rome his advance in the order was rapid. In 1512 he was sub-prior at Wittenberg, received the doctorate in theology, and in 1513 lectured on the Bible. In 1515 an administrative appointment as district vicar increased his duties and took him more into the world of affairs. He continued his lectures on the Scriptures, but from this time onward, with the increasing distractions of a busy office and the irregular performance of his religious exercises, Luther's spiritual condition became much disturbed. Morbid, scrupulous, he was unable to study, and went to extremes in the practice of penances and mortifications. He disregarded the monastic regulations and the admonitions of his confessor, and found no comfort in the sacraments. From this position where he depended on himself alone, or his penances and good works for his salvation, he went finally to the other extreme in which he made all depend upon God. Man could be saved by faith alone. The merits of Christ supply for every sin and defect and are applied to man through faith—justification through faith. This and other heretical doctrines Luther engaged to defend when on October 31, 1517, he posted on the church door at Wittenberg his ninety-five Theses. They were soon recognized as directed not alone against indulgences but against the penitential system of the Church.

In the disorder which followed the revolt, when religious agitation came to mean political rebellion, and when even the Reformers deplored the condition of society, Luther

clearly saw the need of schools to supplant those previously maintained by the Church. He appealed to the civil authorities. His letter to the Burgomasters and Councillors of all the cities of Germany in behalf of Christian schools (1524) is regarded as the first Reformation document on education. They were to be convinced of their duty in building and maintaining schools and libraries, since those of the former régime had now been destroyed. The letter begins thus: "First of all, we see how the schools are deteriorating throughout Germany. The humanities are becoming weak, the monasteries are declining, and, as Isaiah says, 'the grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it,' through the Gospel. For through the word of God the unchristian and sensual character of these institutions is becoming known. And because selfish parents see they can no longer place their children upon the bounty of monasteries and cathedrals, they refuse to educate them. 'Why should we educate our children,' they say, 'if they are not to become priests, monks, and nuns, and thus earn a support?'"

He urges education for the spiritual benefits to be realized, especially in the understanding of Scripture and also for the support of the civil power. "Even if there were no soul, as I have already said, and men did not need schools and the languages for the sake of Christianity and the Scriptures, still for the establishment of the best schools everywhere, both for boys and girls, this consideration is of itself sufficient, namely, that society, for the maintenance of civil order and the proper regulation of the household, needs accomplished and well trained men and women. Now such men are to come from boys, and such women from girls; hence it is necessary that boys

and girls be properly taught and brought up." He complains of the years spent in learning in the monastic schools and says: "My idea is that boys should spend an hour or two a day in school, and the rest of the time work at home, learn some trade and do whatever is desired, so that study and work may go on together, while the children are young and can attend to both. . . . In like manner, a girl has time to go to school an hour a day, and yet attend to her work at home; for she sleeps, dances and plays away more than that. . . .

"But the brightest pupils, who give promise of becoming accomplished teachers, preachers, and workers, should be kept longer at school, or set apart wholly for study, as we read of the holy martyrs, who brought up St. Agnes, St. Agatha, St. Lucian, and others."

In Luther's sermons there are many references to the instruction of the young, as for instance in his discourse on the duty of keeping children at school (1530) and also on the dignity of the teacher and the respect due to him. He held the teacher next in honor to the preacher, and strove to restore the office to the high estimation in which it was held before the Reformation. His German Bible and his catechisms, and the *Fables* of Aesop which he published were all of educational influence. Luther did not, however, devise any new school, elementary or secondary; his work was primarily of a religious nature and incidentally educational. That the schools which he and his associates endeavored to establish were similar in curriculum and management to those of the humanistic period will appear from a view of the educational work of the other so-called Reformers.

Philip Melanchthon was a much more effective educator than Luther. Born in 1497, the son of a sword-cutler of

Bretten in the Palatinate, and a grandnephew of Reuchlin, he seemed "predisposed, as it were, for humanistic and Greek studies." He had the advantage of a private tutor at his home for his elementary training. For a considerable time he lived with his grandmother, the sister of Reuchlin, and there came under the influence of the humanistic scholar. At the latter's suggestion he adopted the name Melanchthon, the Greek equivalent of his family name Schwarzerd, meaning black earth. Melanchthon entered the University of Heidelberg at the age of thirteen. He obtained the bachelor's degree in 1511, but was refused the master's the following year on account of his youth. At the University of Tübingen in 1513 he broadened his studies by courses in astronomy, astrology, mathematics, law and medicine, and in 1514, at the age of seventeen, won the master's degree and was appointed an instructor in Latin classics. Four years later, upon the recommendation of Reuchlin, he was received into the University of Wittenberg as a professor of Greek. Reuchlin had said of him: "I know of no one among the Germans who is superior to him save only Erasmus Roterdamus, and he is a Dutchman." In his opening address Melanchthon proclaimed himself a humanist, and under most promising auspices began a teaching career in Wittenberg which was to last forty-two years, until his death in 1560. There he first came into close relationship with Luther and was won over by the latter to the study of theology. He became a bachelor of theology and finally a teacher of that subject. It is somewhat curious to note that when giving the two courses in the University, the theological and the classical, he complained of the small number in the latter class, whereas his theological courses were very popular and attended by as many as 1,500 students.

Although he never accepted the doctorate in theology, Melanchthon became the great exponent of the evangelical doctrine and the founder of Protestant theology. The defender of Luther in numerous controversies, he differed from the latter on many points and often rejected his doctrines. Desirous of unity and peace, he advocated moderation, and for this was accused of weakness. He was not highly esteemed by the radical Protestants of the early Reformation. In the Augsburg Confession he endeavored to prove that Protestants in spite of the new doctrines had a right to be considered as members of the Catholic Church. He sought the reunion of Protestants with the Church, but insisted upon the validity of Protestant doctrine. While he believed in justification by faith, he claimed good works were required for ethical reasons. He was never ordained a minister of the new faith, but on Sundays he was accustomed to expound the Gospel in Latin to the group of students who lived with him.

By nature religious, scholarly and peace-loving, Melanchthon never entirely lost his affection for the Church. He did not sanction the denunciation of pope and bishop, and he remained faithful to his principles after the death of Luther in the face of strong opposition. He possessed unquestionable ability as a teacher, scholar, and educational organizer, and he was identified more than any other man of his time with the foundation of Protestant schools and universities. From Wittenberg he furnished schoolmasters, and advised local authorities on questions connected with the schools. He had an extensive correspondence with German cities on the matter, but he dealt chiefly with the Latin school and not the common school in our present understanding of the term. Melanchthon's text-books had an important influence in Protestant

Germany; the *Loci Communes* was the text-book in evangelical theology, and, with his writings on theological study and commentaries on the Scriptures, was widely circulated. Manuals and guides for various school subjects, and especially his Latin and Greek grammars, furthered humanism in Protestant schools.

Johann Bugenhagen (1485–1558), a native of Pomerania, and sometimes known as Pomeranus, or Dr. Pommer, was a prominent teacher associated with the Reform movement. After his defection from the Church he was a pastor and professor at Wittenberg, and the close friend and colaborer of Luther. He possessed literary ability and wrote many works including a history of Pomerania. He assisted Luther in his translation of the Bible. The *Brunswick Church Code* (*Braunschweiger Kirchenordnung*), in which he laid the plans for a Latin school of three classes and a German elementary school, is an example of his contributions to the educational side of the Reformation. He endeavored to encourage school-mistresses to take up service in the schools as servants of the State.

Johann Brenz (1499–1570) was a Canon of the Church before joining the Protestant forces. He became famous as a preacher in Stuttgart, the capital of Wurtemberg, and as a theologian, for he took a prominent part in the Protestant Conferences and in the compilation of the Confessions. His *Catechism* ranked in influence next to Luther's, and his school code for Wurtemburg was like Bugenhagen's in its importance for the Protestant states. He devised a plan, certainly not an original one, for a Latin school in a city, or populous community, and for an elementary school in which the sexton or sacristan was appointed to teach reading, writing, catechism and church music.

Valentin Ickelsamer (1500–1541?), about whose early life little is known, was a distinguished German writer, at one time the antagonist of Luther but in the end a Protestant, who rendered a real service in directing more attention to the use of the vernacular in the schools. He was the author of a German grammar and is considered the first exponent of the phonetic method for reading.

Valentin Trotzendorf (1490–1556), whose family name was Friedland, was known through life as Trotzendorf, after his native place, a small village in Silesia near Gorlitz. His parents were peasants and they sent him for his early education to the monks in Gorlitz. He studied for a time in Leipzic and later was a school teacher in Gorlitz. When twenty-five years of age he went to Wittenberg to attend the classes of Melanchthon and there spent five years. Afterward he organized at Goldberg the Latin school with which he was connected for twenty-five years, and which for its unique organization has brought his name down to posterity. The curriculum was humanistic, Latin being the fundamental study and the vernacular receiving little attention. Besides the usual humanistic studies, Hebrew was also taught, and religion, it is said, was the soul of his school and of all instruction. In method he maintained that rules should be few and short, exercises clear and practical, and repetitions frequent. The remarkable feature of his work was that the honor system prevailed to control discipline, and the students governed the school. They formed a kind of school republic, in which all were obliged to profess the Lutheran doctrines, and obey the laws established for the school. The officers were elected by the students with Trotzendorf as the perpetual dictator. The economes or stewards, and the ephors or overseers, supervised all household and domestic affairs; the quaes-

tors enjoyed jurisdiction over the studies, and had in general more of the academic discipline to maintain. The student senate tried all delinquents, who were obliged to defend themselves in well-constructed Latin discourses. The system worked successfully during the dictatorship of Trotzendorf, but was not conspicuous for its success thereafter.

The prototype of the modern German gymnasium is seen in the Latin school of Johann Sturm (1507–89), who by training and taste was a thorough humanist. He studied under the Brethren of Common Life at Liège, was a pupil of Wimpheling, and began to teach privately while a student at the Universities of Louvain and Paris. In 1537 he went to Strassburg to take charge of the Latin school, and he remained there forty years, making the school one of the most famous of the time. His writings attracted attention and brought students from foreign countries to the school. In 1538 he published *The Right Way of Opening Schools of Literature*, *De Litterarum Ludis recte aperiendis*, and in 1565 his *Classical Letters*, *Classicae Epistolae*, which were addressed to teachers and explained his course and methods. He maintained an extensive correspondence with educators in other countries, like Ascham in England, and with school authorities in Germany.

Sturm's school was essentially a Latin or classical school with the same avowed purpose as the school of the Renaissance. It is notable for its organization and its methods. The students were divided into ten classes, which pursued a definite plan of study. The boy was received at seven years of age and in the first year, the tenth class, he learned reading and writing, Latin declensions and conjugations, and the catechism in Latin or

German. Greek was not begun until the sixth class, and, although geography, mathematics, and Hebrew were taught, little attention was paid to other than the humanistic studies.

The subjects were arranged to meet the capacities of the students as Sturm saw them. He made all teaching clear and definite, exacting from the student only a little at a time, but assured by frequent review that it was thoroughly known. He used the double translation advocated by Ascham in England; it is thought by many that he was the first to use the intensive and cursory methods together for the reading of a Latin author.[1]

Sturm's influence was great in Germany and other Protestant countries. He gained a wide reputation through his school and was highly esteemed by the nobility and ruling powers of Europe, some of whom bestowed pensions upon him. He trained many teachers and his ideas on the management of a Latin school were carried by them to all parts of Europe. Furthermore, he had many imitators regarding both organization and methods, and his influence was consequently great in determining the character of the humanistic schools in northern Europe.

Sturm's school has survived in the modern gymnasium. It should be noted here that the Fürstenschulen (Princes Schools) bore a more striking resemblance to the humanistic schools of Italy than did Sturm's school. These were established by noblemen, sometimes in connection with the courts, for the training of young men for public careers. They were supported by the endowments of the confiscated monasteries, and were never very numerous, whereas the gymnasien were usually maintained by the

[1] Quick, *Educational Reformers*, 32.

municipalities. Some famous Fürstenschulen were those of Meissen (1543), Pforta (1543), Grimma (1550), and Rossleben (1554).

One of the less famous rectors of Protestant Latin schools was **Michael Neander** (1525–95), whose family name was Neumann, but who like his master, Melanchthon, adopted the Greek equivalent. He was for twenty-five years rector of the cloistral school of Ilfeld in the Hartz mountains, one of the Protestant schools supported by the income of an old cloistral foundation. His was a successful secondary school, which kept more within the range of the modern gymnasium and college than many which were established after Sturm's plan. His students made a good impression at the universities. He laid especial emphasis in his course on geography, physics, and natural history and wrote text-books on these subjects. Like a number of the Protestant schoolmasters, and Luther and Melanchthon before them, he did not accept the scientific discoveries of Copernicus (1473–1543).

Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1534), the Swiss Reformer, was a humanist and friend of Erasmus. As a priest in Einsiedeln and Zürich he preached freely against the doctrines and practices of the Church, especially against indulgences, pilgrimages and devotion to the Blessed Virgin. He adopted a system similar to Luther's in respect to justification by faith and scriptural interpretation but different in regard to the Eucharist, for he denied absolutely the truth of the Real Presence. In his scheme of reform, which depended largely on the civil power, he endeavored to improve the schools in the Protestant centers especially for the preparation of ministers of the new belief. His work in Latin on training the young (1523, rendered into German 1524) was a moral rather than an educational

treatise, and was intended for children living in good circumstances. In it he contended that education should give a greater knowledge of God through the study of nature or the works of men, and the studies he recommended were humanistic. He spoke favorably of physical culture, of industrial training for those who needed it and of the cultivation of the social virtues. The treatise offered nothing new to the science or practice of education.[1]

John Calvin (1509–64), the son of a lawyer of Noyon, Picardy, France, received minor orders in the Catholic Church and as a cleric held some benefices. He took no solemn vows, and his training was chiefly in law and letters. Commanding a good style he addressed himself as the reform writer chiefly to the learned. Of his writings the catechisms may be considered of some educational importance. His claim as an educator is chiefly based on the influence of the college of Geneva, which he organized and in which he taught. This differed little from the humanistic schools of the North; it was, with other colleges in Switzerland, the model of Calvinistic schools elsewhere. **Mathurin Cordier** (1479–1564), the French Huguenot associated with Calvin in the Swiss colleges, was undoubtedly a humanist both in his writings and educational undertakings.[2] Two humanistic treatises were produced by Cordier, viz., *De corrupti sermonis emendatione libellus* and *Colloquia;* the first to correct faulty diction and establish purity of style, and the second to supply correct forms in Latin conversation.

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[1] *Praeceptiones pauculae quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formandi sunt* (1523). *Leerbuchlein, wie man die Knaben christlich unterweisen und erziehen soll.* (1524) *Christian Education of Youth,* trans. of A. Reichenbach. Collegeville, Pa., 1899.

[2] Cf. page 183, also Woodward, *Education during the Renaissance,* 154ff.

In England

The separation of England from Catholic unity under Henry VIII brought about another educational revolution. One of the first acts of the king in his programme of reform was the suppression in 1536 of the smaller monasteries, when 376 houses were closed and their properties confiscated. The regal act then spoke of the larger monasteries as "great, honorable, and solemn monasteries of this realm wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed." In a few years they too had come into his hands by suppression, dissolution or surrender, and "in round numbers 8,000 religious persons were expelled from their houses at this time, besides probably more than ten times that number of people who were their dependents or otherwise obtained the livings in their service."[1] Within ten years he had suppressed "600 monasteries, 90 colleges, 2300 free chapels, and 100 hospitals and thereby secured an annual income of 150,000 pounds. . . . Very little of this money was spent for education, higher or secondary, to atone for the wholesale destruction of schools and colleges he had wrought."[2] Of his son it has been truly said: "Never was a greater reputation more easily gained and less deserved than that of King Edward VI as a founder of schools. . . . To thoroughly appreciate how very little Edward VI or his father really did for education, we have first to realize the extraordinary antiquity of many of our existing schools. Grammar Schools, instead of being comparatively modern, post-Reformation inventions, are among

[1] Gasquet. *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 323, London, 1890.

[2] Graves, *History of Education during the Middle Ages*, 195. New York, 1910.

our most ancient institutions, some of them far older than the Lord Mayor of London or the House of Commons."[1]

The records produced by Leach show that nearly "200 Grammar Schools (and the Schools of Winchester and Eton are included in the term Grammar Schools) existed in England before the reign of Edward VI, which were, for the most part, abolished or crippled under him. It will appear, however, that these records are defective. They are only the survivors of a much larger host which have been lost in the storms of the past, and drowned in the seas of destruction. They do not give, they could not from their nature give, a complete account of all the Grammar Schools then existing in England. Such an account is probably irrecoverable. The materials for it do not exist. Enough, however, can be gathered from other sources of information to permit the assertion to be confidently made that these 200 Schools do not represent anything like all the Grammar Schools which existed in, or shortly before, the reign of Edward VI. Three hundred is a moderate estimate of the number in the year 1535, when the floods of the great revolution, which is called the Reformation, were let loose. Most of them were swept away either under Henry or his son; or, if not swept away, plundered and damaged."[2]

In the records of the time seven classes of schools appear, viz., schools connected with cathedral churches, with monasteries, with collegiate churches, or colleges, with hospitals, with guilds, with chantries and lastly, independent schools. The Chantries Act of 1545 struck all but those which were not strictly ecclesiastical foundations, and the loss to England in schools and libraries was

[1] Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 5. Westminster, 1896.
[2] *Ibid.*

irreparable. There was not even in 1865 as ample provision in schools in proportion to population. Leach has computed that the grammar schools, apart from the primary schools, numbered in 1546 about 300 among two and one half million people, or one school for every 8,300 people whereas there was one for every 23,000 in 1865. "In the Poll-Tax returns of 1377, forty-two towns are given. . . . They had a total population of 166,000 . . . with the possible exception of Dartmouth, with its 949 people, every one of these towns had its Grammar School. . . . As regards the numbers attending these schools, wherever numbers are mentioned they are surprising for their magnitude."[1] It is pleasant to note the large number of free grammar schools and the provision made in them for poor scholars. They were not mere elementary schools, for they had adopted the humanistic curriculum and were the models after which subsequent grammar schools in England and America were organized.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were affected by the revolt in a manner similar to the universities of Germany. Many of the colleges were closed because the monastic endowments on which they were supported were confiscated, and the number of students declined. "Of the three hundred Halls and schools which had been built in and about Oxford alone, all, with the exception of eight, were dissolved and their revenues appropriated by the time Henry's programme of educational reform was finished."[2]

Facilities for the education of women so abundant before the convents were suppressed now disappeared.

[1] Leach, *ibid.*, 100.

[2] Magevney, *The Reformation and Education*, 34. New York, 1903.

"The destruction of these religious houses by Henry was the absolute extinction of any systematic education for women during a long period."[1] All classes from the nobility to the poor were affected; the former in more than one instance remonstrated with the King. "The occupations of the nuns in their cloisters were the same as those described by an eye-witness at a Wiltshire convent. "There," says John Aubrey, 'the young maids were brought up (not at Hakney Larum Schools, etc., to learn pride and wantonness, but) at the nunneries, where they had examples of piety, and humility, and modesty, and obedience to imitate and to practice. Here they learned needlework, the art of confectionery, surgery (for anciently there were no apothecaries or surgeons—the gentlewomen did cure their poor neighbours: their hands are now too fine), physic, writing, drawing, etc.' . . . 'This,' concludes the author, 'was a fine way of breeding up young women, who were led more by example than precept; and a good retirement for widows and grave single women to a civil, virtuous and holy life.'"[2]

Not only girls but boys also were educated by the nuns as is clear from many of the regulations imposed upon convents by the bishops. All were not, of course, boarding scholars.[3] To the nuns many distinguished churchmen owed their early education.

The immediate effect of the Reformation was consequently disastrous to education. "Deterioration was felt in all grades of education from the university downwards. The rise in rents, says Latimer, prevented the yeoman sending his son to school. Most of the schools at this

[1] Gasquet, ii, 221.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 224.

[3] Eckenstein, *Women Under Monasticism*, 378. Cambridge, 1896.

time were closed, without any provision being made for a substitute." "Truly," said Bishop Latimer in a sermon, "it is a pitiful thing to see schools so neglected; every true Christian ought to lament the same . . . to consider what hath been plucked from abbeys, colleges, and chantries, it is marvel no more to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation. It may well be said by us that the Lord complaineth by His prophet. . . . 'My house ye have deserted, and ye run everyone to his own house' . . . Schools are not maintained; scholars have not exhibitions. . . . Very few there be that help poor scholars. . . . It would pity a man's heart to hear that, that I hear of the state of Cambridge; what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. . . . I think there be at this day ten thousand students less than were within these twenty years and fewer preachers."[1]

Catholics were then compelled to resort to the Continent for their education. The English Colleges at Douai, Rome, and Valladolid had for their object the training of the clergy. Not until the foundation of St. Omer, near Calais, France, in 1592, by Father Robert Parsons, S.J., was there an English college for the laity. This continued its noble work until 1762 when it was removed to Bruges. Stonyhurst college, opened about 1794, was the lineal descendent of St. Omer's as the first Catholic college for young English laymen after the Reformation.[2]

In Ireland

The course of the Reformation in Ireland was to strip the already weakened country of its educational institu-

[1] Gasquet, ii, 520.

[2] Cf. Guilday, P. *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1555–1795*, vol. i. New York, 1914.

tions. The inroads of the Danes, begun at the end of the eighth century with the pillaging of monasteries and the burning of libraries, lasted for over two hundred years, and Ireland had not recovered from them even in the twelfth century when the Norman invasions ensued with their consequent depredations and confiscations. Whether wholly or partially under English control Ireland did not regain her former prestige for learning and the schools. Occasionally her monasteries gave promise of again flourishing: the Dominicans and the Franciscans were established there in the early thirteenth century, but learning and the arts of peace did not again thrive in a country racked by feuds and wars. The destruction begun by the Danes was completed by the Protestants of the Reformation.

It was not long before the penal laws forbade Catholics, who were the majority in Ireland, to educate their children either at home or abroad. Protestants could not instruct Catholics. The child sent abroad for education could never after sue in law or equity, or receive any legacy or gift, but forfeited for life all of his goods and lands. Those who conspired in his education were also guilty and received the same penalties. In spite of all this, however, students were sent abroad for the education denied them at home, and at the university centers outside of the Protestant countries, Irish schools and colleges were eventually established, as at Louvain, Antwerp, Lille, Douai, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Rouen, Nantes, Paris, Salamanca, Seville, Madrid, Compostela, Lisbon, Alcalà, Coimbra, Prague in Bohemia and Rome.

When the penal laws were severest and a price was placed upon the head of a teacher the Irish boy received a precarious training in the Hedge School. "Still crouching

'neath the sheltering hedge or stretched on mountain fern, the teacher and his pupils met, feloniously to learn."

Not until the end of the eighteenth century when the penal laws were relaxed was any relief felt and Ireland allowed the right of maintaining schools at home.

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CHAPTER XX

THE CATHOLIC REACTION

The appointment of the Commission of Reform in 1537 by Pope Paul III was a fitting beginning of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Some of the distinguished prelates of the Commission were devoted to the interests of the schools, as for instance, Cardinal Reginald Pole, who had manifested his solicitude for them in England and especially in Oxford, and Cardinal Jacopo Sadoleto, the author of a notable educational treatise: *De liberis recte instituendis liber*[1] (1533). The latter had been papal secretary under Leo X, was a famous humanist and a correspondent of Erasmus. The treatise gave a beautiful exposition of a Christian and humanistic education and is of special note for its advocacy of compulsory education by the State. From churchmen like Sadoleto and Pole might naturally be expected the reform in the schools urged by the Commission. They condemned the heretical and impious teaching in the public schools especially of Italy and the holding of so many public disputations; they urged the bishops to supervise more carefully the printing of books and to prohibit the reading of such works as the *Colloquies* of Erasmus in the schools. Their report was the basis of many of the reforms of the great Ecumenical Council of Trent, held from 1545–1563.

The Council restored the ancient discipline for the training of the clergy. The cathedral school, or seminary,

[1] Kopp. *Ueber die richtige Erziehung der Kinder von Jakob Sadolet.* Freiburg, 1904.

being regarded as the best means for correcting the abuses which since the rise of the universities had crept in, it was decreed that every diocese should have its own seminary for the preparation of ecclesiastical students. Regulations were also made regarding the courses and the qualifications of the teachers. There was universal satisfaction over the adoption of this decree, for a standard was thereby established for the training of the clergy throughout the world. The Council also made regulations to safeguard the teaching in universities by requiring all masters to engage upon oath to teach the Catholic faith according to the canons of the Council. Other phases of education, such as the instruction of the faithful by preaching and by the printed word, and the Sunday School, were subjects of legislation during the many sessions of the Council. The parish school[1] was to be reopened wherever it had declined; the religious orders founded for the instruction of the young were to be encouraged.

Provincial councils and diocesan synods throughout the Christian world enacted similar laws for their jurisdictions and designated more particularly how the injunctions were to be met. Thus we see in many instances the very words of the Tridentine law accepted in diocesan statutes, especially regarding the religious instruction of the people. St. Charles Borromeo (†1584) in Italy established diocesan seminaries and colleges. The Venerable Bartholomew of the Martyrs (Bartholomew of Braga †1590) carried out the designs of the Council in Portugal; Cardinal Pole endeavored to do so in England. Seminaries were multiplied, colleges opened and free schools made accessible to the poor.

France offers an excellent example of this activity, for

[1] Cf. Fifth session.

there the Church was not under the same persecution as in England or in Germany. Particular councils apply the Tridentine law according to the wants of their respective dioceses. Nearly all the provincial councils and diocesan synods of the sixteenth century deal with the question of the schools and decree that there be a school in every parish.[1] A decree of the Council of Cambrai, held in 1565, under the presidency of the archbishop and with the bishops of Tournai, Arras, Saint-Omer and Namur, is as follows:

"They will be careful to restore, or to keep up, Christian schools to instruct children in the rudiments of religion. There is to be a schoolmaster for the instruction of youth in every parish. The boys are to be kept separate from the girls as much as possible. The masters will only read to their scholars books approved by the Bishops. The pastors, the chaplains, or the schoolmasters will teach the catechism to the children every Sunday after Vespers. The pastors will enquire every month into the progress of the children and will do their utmost to inspire them with the fear and love of God from their tenderest years. The rural deans will visit these little schools once a month, or at least once a year, and will report to the Ordinary concerning the method of instructing youth employed by each master."[2]

New fervor entered into the older religious orders, and while they responded to the appeal for renewed activity younger orders and congregations came into existence under the auspices of the Church. Some of these, like the Theatines, founded by St. Cajetan in 1524, and the Somaschi, or the Congregation of Somascha, Italy, founded by St. Jerome Aemilian 1532, undertook the management of seminaries and colleges for the clergy and the laity. The Society of Jesus adopted the education of boys as

[1] Ravelet, *Blessed John Baptist de la Salle*, 36. Paris, 1888.
[2] Ravelet, 37. Cf. Mansi, *Collectio Con.* Vol. xxxiii, 1396.

one of its chief aims and the services of this great order to the cause of religion and learning during the Counter-Reformation were almost inestimable.

The Society of Jesus

St. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, was born in 1491 of a noble Spanish family. Although clerical tonsure was conferred upon him in youth, he chose to follow a military career. He was seriously injured while defending the citadel of Pamplona during an attack by the French, and as a result was confined to his bed for many months. During the period of convalescence, through lack of any other books, he read the lives of Christ and the Saints, and a spiritual transformation took place. He chose now to be a soldier of Christ and to rival the Saints in their penances. Shortly afterward (1522) he "went forth a knight as ever, but not on an expedition terminating as before. An evening and a night spent in the monastery of Montserrat, as once before he had passed a vigil of arms, when dubbed a chevalier by the King of Navarre; a morning begun with the Holy Sacrifice attended and Holy Communion received, opened to him a new era; and he went forth, bound now by a new oath of fealty to the service of the King of Heaven."[1]

After a retreat of about a year spent in Manresa, Loyola traveled as a pilgrim to the Holy Land, suffering much from poverty and exposure, from persecution and hardships of every sort. When he returned, having already conceived in general outline the idea of his future work,[2] he undertook the study of Latin in Barcelona. After two

[1] Hughes, *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits*, 20. New York, 1892.

[2] Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education*, 75. St. Louis, 1904.

years he was able to enter the University of Alcalà. Persecution drove him to Salamanca, but there, too, he was harassed for his views and religious zeal and cast into prison. Convinced that learning was necessary for the fulfilment of his plans, he then (1528) went to Paris to follow courses in the University. He completed the arts course and obtained the master's degree in 1535. He had in the meantime studied theology, for he received the licentiate in 1534. In all Loyola spent eleven years in study from the time of his entrance into the school of Barcelona, and when he left Paris he was a man forty-four years of age.

In the University of Paris he found the six staunch companions who formed with him the nucleus of the Society of Jesus. They were St. Peter Faber, a Genevan Savoyard; St. Francis Xavier of Navarre; James Laynez, Alphonsus Salmeron and Nicholas Bobadilla of Spain; and Simon Rodriguez of Portugal. On August 15, 1534, they assembled in the church of the Blessed Virgin at Montmarte, Paris, and desiring to imitate the life of Christ bound themselves by vow to the practice of poverty and chastity. They also vowed to go to the Holy Land upon the completion of their studies, or, if prevented in that, to go to Rome and place themselves at the disposal of the Holy Father for whatsoever services he might assign them. At the appointed time they appeared in Rome, being unable to go to the Holy Land on account of the troubled condition there. They sought the approval of the Holy See for the new society and obtained it in 1540.

St. Ignatius called the little group the Company of Jesus, thereby indicating both the social and military aspects of the organization. The title, Society of Jesus, came from the Latin form, Societas Jesu, given in the papal

bull of approval. The term Jesuits, at first one of reproach applied as early as the fifteenth century to those who used the Holy Name of Jesus too frequently, was later adopted by the friends and members of the Society and accepted in its good sense. The aim of the Society of Jesus is well expressed in its motto: *Omnia ad majorem Dei gloriam—All for the greater glory of God.* The Society differed from the older orders in making education one of its chief purposes, and in this sense it was the first teaching order. Its primary object was not to combat Protestantism. "It was the first intention of Ignatius to convert Palestine. Frustrated in this plan, he chose Italy, Spain, Portugal as the field of labor for himself and his companions. There he endeavored to reform the morals of the people and to encourage the practice of works of charity."[1]

The Constitution of the Order prepared by St. Ignatius before his death (1556) and granted papal approbation, enumerated among the objects of the Society: teaching catechism to children and the ignorant, instructing youth in schools and colleges, and lecturing on philosophy and theology in the universities. The original constitution consists of ten parts: the fourth or longest part treats of studies and the administration of colleges, the preparation of the teachers, etc. It contained a promise of another document to appear later which would deal specifically with the method and order of studies. "This is the express warrant contained in the Constitution for the Ratio Studiorum, or System of Studies in the Society of Jesus."[2]

With the rapid spread of the Society and the increase in the number of colleges the need was felt of a more uni-

[1] Schwickerath, 78.
[2] Hughes, *Loyola*, 56.

form treatment of studies throughout the world. Members of the order in Spain had devised plans of study, some of which served as the basis of the plan officially accepted for the whole Society. During the generalship of Father Cladius Aquaviva, 1581–1615, this official plan, the *Ratio Studiorum*, was prepared. In 1584 the General appointed a committee of six Fathers taken from different provinces and nations, who after nine months' consultation and collaboration produced a tentative plan. This was submitted by the General to the Provincials of the order for the criticism of the teachers under their jurisdiction. The Provincial was required to appoint at least five men well qualified in point of learning and judgment to examine and criticize the plan. A second plan followed in 1591 after most careful revision of the first by the General and the Fathers of every province of the order. The Provincials reported on the revised plan at the General Congregation in Rome (1593–94), and further improvement was made. In 1599, fifteen years after the first plan was undertaken and after long examination and experiment in the schools, the final plan of studies appeared bearing the title, *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu, Method and System of Studies of the Society of Jesus.*[1]

The Ratio Studiorum of 1599 was a practical method or system of teaching. It was not a treatise on methods, nor a discussion of them; matters of discussion had been gone over and settled before the Ratio was adopted in its final form. It was "a code of laws, a collection of rules for different officials, in whose hands lies the government of a college, and for the teachers of the various classes."[2] It

[1] Pachtler. *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes.* Berlin, 1887–94. *Mon. Ger. Paedagogica,* Vols. ii, v, ix and xvi.

[2] Schwickerath, 114.

was the authoritative plan of studies until the suppression of the order in 1773, and in the revised Ratio of 1832 following the restoration of the order (1814), its essentials and fundamental principles remained unchanged although more provision was made for the study of the vernacular, history, and the natural sciences. Under distinct heads it treats of (1) the duties of administrative officers, *i. e.*, the Provincial, Rector, Prefect of Studies; (2) the Professors of the higher faculties of the universities and seminaries where Sacred Scripture, Theology, Canon Law and similar professional subjects were taught; (3) the Professors of the faculty of Arts or Philosophy; (4) the Professors of the Humanities—under the two latter would be found the rules for the college and high school teachers.[1]

The government of a college lies with the Rector assisted by the Prefect of Studies and the Prefect of Discipline. He is required to supervise the class work. While having great authority, he must follow the laws made for him, and regularly consult with his council. The Provincial also is bound to visit the colleges at least once a year. All the teachers must see him privately; and they may place before him any difficulties they have had with the Rector. The Prefect of Studies naturally is responsible for the quality of the teaching. He visits every class at least once in two weeks and is always accessible to teachers for consultation and direction. A similar work in discipline falls to the care of the Prefect of Discipline.

The curriculum, apart from the university and professional studies, consisted of the Studia inferiora, or Lower Studies and the Arts Course, or Philosophy. The former, or the Humanities, had five classes, sometimes six, determined by advance or progress in classical studies.

[1] Cf. Pachtler, ii, 225f., for two Ratios of 1599 and 1832.

The course is essentially humanistic; other branches enter into it as completing the classical studies. The Prefect of Studies is instructed "to distribute History, Geography, the elements of Mathematics and whatever else is usually taught in these classes, in such a manner that each Master can satisfactorily and conveniently finish the matter assigned to him."

The classes are designated as follows: 1. Lower Grammar, for the rudiments of Latin and Greek, the reading of easy selections. 2. Middle Grammar, where "the aim is a knowledge, though not entire, of all grammar;" another portion of the Greek grammar, selected readings from Cicero, *Commentaries* of Caesar, and easy poems of Ovid; in Greek: the *Fables* of Aesop, selected dialogues of Lucian and *Table* of Cebes.[1] 3. Upper Grammar, grammar completed in Latin; all of the rudiments in Greek grammar. Readings: Cicero, *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*, selections from Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus and *Eclogues* of Virgil: in Greek, St. Chrysostom, Xenophon, and the like. 4. Humanities, the class which prepares for Rhetoric, daily study of Cicero, the historians, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Curtius and the poets, especially Virgil, with selections from Horace and others. In Greek, a study of the art of versification, and some composition in Greek, of prose authors St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, Epistles of Plato, etc., and of the poets, Homer, Phocylides, St. Gregory Nazianzus. 5. Rhetoric, the humanistic studies are completed as a preliminary to philosophy. A choice of authors may be permitted to perfect the student's style and powers of expression. In Greek a fuller knowledge is given through the orators, historians and poets. The

[1] Hughes, *Loyola*, 271.

list of authors includes St. Gregory Nazianzus, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom.

As in the humanistic schools of the period, Latin took precedence over all other studies and the vernacular received less attention. It may not be concluded, however, that the mother-tongue was entirely neglected in the Jesuit schools, for the Fathers ordered its study and cultivated it themselves. For instance, as early as 1560 Father Jerome Nadal exhorted the Jesuits at Cologne, "to cultivate diligently the German language and to find out a method of teaching it; that they should also select pupils and teachers for this branch."[1]

The course in philosophy covered three years and included mathematics and the natural sciences. Such a course in scholastic philosophy and the exact sciences prevented the narrowness of a purely humanistic curriculum, and furthered that wider expansion of college work already noticeable in the schools of the Italian Renaissance.

Formal religious instruction took place once a week[2] but every means afforded by school work and by Catholic devotions and the Sacraments were used for the moral formation of the young. They were encouraged to acquire both learning and piety. The spirit of the discipline was not severe in the Jesuit schools; corporal punishment, for example, could not be inflicted by the teacher. It could be administered by the Prefect of Discipline. A benign firmness characterized the discipline of the classroom.

Among the most noteworthy features of the Jesuit system are the following:

I. The teacher was long and carefully trained. Selected

[1] Schwickerath, 130.
[2] *Ibid.*, 590.

in the first place for his qualifications as a religious novice, he underwent, after completing his classical studies, the course of two years in the novitiate. He then revised and extended his classical studies for two years from the standpoint of the teacher, and afterward pursued the Arts Course of three years including philosophy and mathematics. He was then qualified to enter the classroom and to teach grammar and literature—this period, the "Regency," lasted about five years. Finally he followed a course in theology lasting four years, with another year of spiritual preparation before being professed. A fixed number of teachers was required for the grades of an institution and St. Ignatius had advised that invitations to establish colleges be refused when a full quota of teachers was not at hand.

II. The Jesuit schools were free. The poor who could undertake a higher education were welcome students.

III. The aim in education was to give a liberal training according to the concept of the time, to prepare young men for the professions and for specialized courses. Characteristics of their method were (a) the praelectio, or prelection, which meant in the lower grades an explanation of a passage in an author, and in the higher faculties, a lecture; this assured orderly and methodical procedure by all teachers; (b) discussions, reviews, and contests and consequent emulation which were used as means of stimulation and interest; (c) assiduous cultivation of the powers of memory.

The Jesuit college had many features in common with the Latin schools of the period. St. Ignatius drew upon his own experience in the foundation and organization of colleges, and the Fathers who produced the Ratio Studiorum profited by the educational practices as well as the

theory of the time. It is incorrect to ascribe the source of the system to any individual educator as, for instance, to Vives or Sturm, or to a distinct institution like the humanistic school of the North. The first Jesuits were in possession of the educational inheritance of their day and they adapted it to the best advantage. As a recent historian of the Society says: "It really looks as though some writers are determined to deny all originality to the Ratio Studiorum, if they are compelled to admit that it achieved great results. We frankly and willingly admit that the authors of the Ratio borrowed much from existing systems, it matters little whence and how much. We must, however, claim that their experience from 1540–1599, and their pains-taking efforts in drawing up the Ratio, had a considerable share in the results that attended their system. Above all, what is most characteristic in the Jesuit system, the wonderful unity and organization, was not borrowed from any other system, but is the work of the framers of the Constitutions and of the Ratio Studiorum."[1]

The Society grew rapidly but was unable to meet all the demands for its services in the educational and missionary fields. Bishops everywhere invited the Fathers to establish colleges in their dioceses and consequently within fifty years after the approval of the order it had spread over the entire world, "from Europe to the Indies, from China and Japan in the East to Mexico and Brazil in the West. Wherever the Church was not actually persecuted, as in England, there sprang up educational institutions." In 1615, the Society conducted 373 colleges; in 1706 its colleges and universities numbered 769, and in 1756, 728, and the numbers of students attending were large. Rouen, France, had regularly 2,000; the College of Louis-le-

[1] Schwickerath, 142.

Grand, Paris, usually enrolled between 1800 and 3,000. Cologne began in 1558 with nearly 800, and Utrecht had 1,000. The total number of students in the seven hundred and more institutions of the order before the suppression has been estimated as 210,000.[1] Through the suppression of the order and the closing of its colleges and universities Catholic education and learning suffered greatly. The Society was formally restored in 1814 by Pope Pius VII and again empowered "to undertake the education of youth in the principles of the Catholic faith, to form them to good morals, and to direct colleges and seminaries."[2]

Teaching was again enthusiastically resumed. Colleges were opened in new fields, especially in England and her dependencies, and in the United States, and the cherished work of the order, despite many hardships and trials, has been successfully prosecuted to the present time.

Other Teaching Orders

Especial attention was paid during the Counter-Reformation to the education of girls. The Benedictine convents of the North suffered much from the Reformation, and the Beguines of the Netherlands, who were often, like the canonesses regular, the teachers of girls in towns and villages, lost many of their establishments. None of these communities had for its primary purpose the education of girls, although many had undertaken the work extensively. The Order of St. Ursula, or the **Ursulines**, founded by **St. Angela Merici** (1474–1540), enjoyed this distinction in the history of education. The foundress, a native of Desenzano, a small village in Lombardy, Italy, was convinced

[1] Schwickerath, 145.
[2] *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* of Pope Pius VII.

that the greatest need of her time was the religious instruction of girls. She began the work modestly in her own home, gathering little girls about her for daily instruction in the elements of Christian doctrine. She was successful from the beginning and in a short time was directing a number of zealous young women in the same occupation. An invitation from Brescia encouraged her to extend her operations, and there in 1535 with her chosen companions, twelve in all, St. Angela took her religious vows and became superioress of the community.

The first Ursulines were encouraged by St. Charles Borromeo, who obtained for them the status of an order with enclosure, and they rapidly established themselves in Italy, Germany and France. Their labors in all departments of female education have persisted to the present. Reference might be made to their early educational establishments in Canada (1639) and the United States (1729). Their institution in Quebec is the oldest for the education of women in North America.

St. Joseph Calasanctius (†1648), a Spanish priest of noble family, opened in Rome in 1597 a free school for poor boys and girls. Encouraged by Pope Clement VIII in his undertaking, he won followers among the clergy and established the **Order of Piarists** whose schools spread into the cities of northern Italy, Austria and Poland. During the eighteenth century they conducted many free elementary schools, as well as secondary or Latin schools.

The **Fathers of Christian Doctrine** (Pères de la Doctrine Chrétienne), founded in 1593 by a French priest, the Venerable César de Bus, for the religious education of the young, extended over France and Italy and eventually included among their works the education of orphans and the blind.

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SUMMARY OF RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION PERIOD

The Revival of ancient culture, although inaugurated as a movement in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had its beginnings in the Middle Ages. Classical studies had never been entirely neglected in medieval schools. The Renaissance began in Italy and its course was determined by Italian scholars. Some of its most notable patrons were the popes of the period. Educational theory as expounded by Italian writers, and educational practice as seen in the Renaissance schools, show the influence of Greek and Roman ideals on the education of Christian youth. The humanities were then successfully taught in the schools and became the chief elements in a curriculum which has survived until modern times.

Italy directly influenced the Renaissance movement in other countries, viz., France, Spain, Germany and England. The Brethren of the Common Life were among the most noteworthy influences in the North. Some of their pupils were famous humanists, *e.g.*, Erasmus. Vives, a Spaniard who lived mostly in the North, was the greatest educator of the period. The Renaissance in England was inspired by Italy, and the first educational treatises produced in England closely resembled those of the Italian Renaissance.

The first effects of the Reformation were destructive of schools and educational facilities. Higher education was especially affected. Luther and Melanchthon strove to reopen schools in Protestant communities, but neither of them sought to establish a new type of elementary or secondary school. In the secondary schools they really reproduced the Renaissance type. The famous schools

of Trotzendorf, Sturm and Neander were Latin schools. In England the Reformation dealt a severe blow to the grammar schools and every type of school from the university downward, without supplying a substitute for what was confiscated or destroyed. Education practically ceased for Catholics in England and Ireland. In the Catholic Reaction distinct measures in behalf of schools were adopted by the Council of Trent and provincial councils. The older religious orders renewed their educational efforts and new orders, notably the Jesuits, entered the field.

Part IV

Modern Education

CHAPTER XXI

REALISM

Realism, a reaction from Humanism, was that movement in the history of education which tended to counteract the ultra-literary or extreme aspect of the humanistic system. In the devotion to literature as the basis of education the spirit of the early Revivalists had been lost sight of, and the work of the schools had become as formal and as unreal for the man of affairs as it ever had been in any of the older periods. With the study of literary forms, of words, had come a neglect of ideas and the practical values in the subjects pursued. The first phase of Realism offered a check to the extreme movement by recalling the real purpose of the study of the classics, by keeping in view the practical ends of training, and by substituting the study of ideas, training in judgment and power for literary or philological skill. These Realists retained the humanities as the content of instruction and are known as the Humanistic Realists. The second phase of Realism begins with Bacon and undertakes to find in nature and natural phenomena the content of study and investigation. Things in the objective order then come before words; the processes of nature are observed for their lessons in teaching; and sense perception made a fundamental means to learning. The exponents of this phase are the Sense Realists.

Humanistic Realists

François Rabelais (1483–1553), the celebrated French writer, has been variously styled a realist, naturalist,

humorist or humanist. As an educational writer he seems most properly to come under the latter classification for his ideal is that of the Renaissance and very similar to the one upheld by Erasmus.

Rabelais began his studies with the Benedictines of his native place, Chinon, in Touraine. He continued them under the Franciscans near Angers, became a member of the order and was ordained to the priesthood. His life was very irregular and for the most part that of a wanderer. After leaving the monastery, for what reasons we are not certain, he became a medical student in Montpellier. Pope Paul III at the instance of Cardinal du Bellay, a friend and schoolfellow of Rabelais, absolved the ex-monk from the censures he had incurred and allowed him to practice medicine. He taught medicine at Lyons, and appeared afterward as a physician at Turin and Metz. As curé of Meudon he later resumed ecclesiastical duties, performing them seriously and regularly. He died in Paris.

Rabelais' educational ideas were expressed in his romances *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel.*[1] He depicts the older and the newer education in the training of Gargantua. His picture is, of course, exaggerated and extravagant both in criticising the old and in praising the new, and, while it cannot in any sense be literally accepted, it must be viewed as an important satire on the education of the time.

His account of the older school and methods is seen in the following:

"Gargantua from three years upward until five was brought up and instructed in all convenient discipline by

[1] *Life of Gargantua and the Heroic Deeds of Pantagruel.* Trans. by T. Urquhart, London, 1887.

the commandment of his father, and spent that time like the other little children of the country, that is, in drinking, eating, and sleeping, in eating, sleeping and drinking, and in sleeping, drinking and eating. About the end of his fifth year Grandgousier, his father, became convinced from a conversation with him that his understanding did partake of some divinity and that if he were well taught and had a fitting education he would attain to a supreme degree of wisdom, 'therefore I will commit him to some learned man to have him in-doctrinated according to his capacity, and will spare no cost.' Presently they appointed him a great sophister-doctor, called Master Tubal Holofernes, who taught him his A B C so well, that he could say it by heart backward and about this he was five years and three months. Then read he to him Dnatus (a grammar), Facetus, Theodoletus, and Alanus, 'De Parabolis' (who were moral writers); about this he was thirteen years six months and two weeks.

"After that he read unto him the book called 'De modis significandi' with the commentaries of Hurtbise, of Fasquin, etc., wherein he spent more than eighteen years and eleven months, and was so well versed in it that to try masteries in school disputes with his con-disciples he would recite it by heart backward and did sometimes prove on his finger ends to his mother, 'quod de modis significandi non erat scientia.'" Thus Gargantua's education continued until his preceptor died and his father "got an old coughing fellow to teach him, named Master Jobelin Bridé," by whose teaching Gargantua "became as wise as any we have ever since baked in an oven."

Finally his father perceived that Gargantua although he studied hard learned nothing, but "what is worse, grew thereby foolish, simple, doted and blockish" and when

shown Eudemon, the pupil of the new schools, not yet twelve years old, was immediately in favor of a similar training for his son.

Rabelais gives a humorous description of the contrast between Eudemon and Gargantua. The former "with his cap in his hand, a clear and open countenance, beautiful and ruddy lips, his eyes steady, and his looks fixed on Gargantua, with a youthful modesty, standing up straight on his feet, began very gracefully to commend him, first for his virtue and good manners, secondly for his knowledge, thirdly for his nobility, fourthly for his bodily accomplishments, and in the fifth place, most sweetly exhorted him to reverence his father with all due observancy, who was so careful to have him well brought up. All this was by him delivered with such proper gestures, such distinct pronunciation, so pleasant a delivery, in such exquisite terms and so good Latin, that he seemed either a Gracchus, a Cicero, an Aemilius, of the time past than a youth of this age. But all the countenance that Gargantua kept was that he fell to crying like a cow, and cast down his face, hiding it with his cap, nor could they possibly draw one word from him, whereat his father was so grievously vexed that he would have killed Master Jobelin. . . . "

He then began a new method of study, so that he lost not any one hour in the day, but employed all his time in learning and honest knowledge. The tutor studied Gargantua and gradually changed his manner of life and study. The new training offers a perfect contrast to the old, especially in the spirit in which it is given and received. The new teacher is intelligent and gentle; he instructs under favorable conditions, reviewing lessons with the pupil while playing and exercising; he directs the powers

of observation at all times; and he gives interesting instruction even at meals in connection with the dishes, bread, wine, meats, fishes, herbs, etc. The pupil falls in love with arithmetic because of the pleasant beginning made with the subject, and so he remains throughout the higher courses in mathematics. At the close of the day the master reviewed with the pupil "what he had read, seen, learned, done and understood in the whole course of that day."

In a letter of Gargantua to his son, Pantagruel, we have a positive expression of Rabelais' views on the content of instruction, which like all of his writings is a mixture of jest and earnest. "Wherefore, my son, I admonish thee to employ thy youth to profit as well as thou canst, both in thy studies and in virtue. I intend and will have it so that thou learn the languages perfectly, first of all the Greek, as Quintilian will have it, secondly the Latin, and then the Hebrew for the Holy Scriptures' sake, and then the Chaldee and Arabic likewise, and that thou frame thy style in Greek after the manner of Plato, in Latin after that of Cicero. Let there be no history which thou shalt not have ready in thy memory. . . . As for Civil Law, of that I would have thou know the texts by heart, and then to compare them with philosophy." He would have Pantagruel study the works of nature so that there be no sea, river, nor fountain of which he does not know the fishes, so that of birds, trees and shrubs, herbs and flowers, metals and stores nothing will be hidden from him. He would have him in short become "an abyss and bottomless pit of knowledge, as well as a knight and defender of his house."

There is much discussion as to the purpose of Rabelais' writings. Undoubtedly he introduced much that was

serious with the ridiculous, and while his descriptions are all overdrawn and exaggerated, he did point out the necessity of teaching through observation and through association of all instruction with practical life; also the value of physical training and of gentleness in methods of discipline. His views, which may be termed realistic as well as humanistic, influenced later theorists especially Montaigne, Locke, Fénelon and Rousseau.

The successor of Rabelais among educational theorists was **Michel Eyquem, Seigneur de Montaigne** (1533–92). Born at Périgord, near Bordeaux, the son of a landed proprietor, he received from his earliest years a systematic and well-planned training. His father evidently had his own ideas on the question of early training, or had the advantage of expert direction in the matter, for everything in connection with the child's rearing was carefully planned. The tutor, for example, although a German, was obliged to speak to the child in Latin and all others who came in contact with him were made do likewise. In the morning the child was awakened by the soft strains of music so that he would suffer no shock. This was characteristic of the mildness and care with which he was brought up.

When Montaigne entered the Collège de Guyenne at Bordeaux, then in his seventh year, he could speak Latin fluently. At thirteen he had completed the course and had in the meantime read widely. He then pursued a course in law, but an active career did not appeal to him and at the age of thirty-seven, when counselor of the Parlement of Bordeaux, he resigned his office and went into retirement. Toward the end of his life he was chosen Mayor of Bordeaux. It is quite generally agreed that Montaigne was not a great lawyer or a statesman any

more than he was a deep scholar and philosopher. Although skeptical and Pyrrhonistic in his philosophical views he nevertheless always retained some attachment to religion and to the Church. He died, it is true, without receiving the Sacraments, but while Mass was being read at his request in the room where he lay.

Montaigne's position in educational history was won by his brilliant essays, chiefly those on *Pedantry* and the *Education of Children*. Because he looked to the practical purposes of study he is known as a realist. He endeavored to take a practical or common sense view of everything, teaching that one should live for all of life's enjoyments and should avoid all trouble and sorrow.

His aim in education was to train the reason and judgment so as to secure moderation of mind and the practice of virtue, and to train the body so as to be the ready instrument of the soul. Education was not to develop mind and body separately but together for the whole man. He hoped to produce the cultured and capable man of affairs.

Favoring the tutorial system or individual instruction over the class method, he contrasted the results of the school training of the time with his ideal. The teachers then, he contended, gave the form of knowledge, or learning, without being sure of the boy's understanding or using what he learned. They attended too much to memorizing and not enough to thinking. "I would have the tutor make the child examine and thoroughly sift all things, and harbour nothing in his head by mere authority or upon trust."[1] "Who ever inquires of his pupil what he thinks of rhetoric, of grammar, of this or that sentence

[1] *Education of Children*. *Essays*, Bk. i, chap. xxv. Cf. Montaigne, *The Education of Children*, 31. Trans. by Rector, N. Y., 1899.

of Cicero? Our teachers stick them full-feathered in our memories, and there establish them like oracles, of which the very words and letters are the substance of the thing. To know by heart only is not to know at all; it is simply to keep what one has committed to his memory. What a man knows directly, that will he dispose of without turning to his book or looking to his pattern."[1] The teacher was not to do all for the child but to direct study, encouraging reflection and action upon what he learned. The exercise of expression, Montaigne believed, would be one of the best indications of the pupil's progress.

Montaigne explained the principle of assimilation, the application of which was a necessary means for learning. "What is the good of having the stomach full of meat if it cannot nourish us?" He held that the vernacular should be studied before Latin or Greek on account of its real utility. Things come, however, before words. "Let our pupil be furnished with things—words will come only too fast; if they do not come readily, he will reach after them. I have heard some make excuses because they cannot express themselves, and pretend to have their heads full of a great many very fine things which for want of words they can not bring out. . . . They do not know themselves what they are trying to say, and if you notice how they haggle and stammer, you will soon conclude their pretensions to learning are downright false. For my part I hold, and Socrates is positive in it, that whoever has in his mind a clear and vivid idea, will express it well enough in one way or another; and if he be dumb, by signs."[2]

Montaigne opposed the verbalism and the ultra literary instruction associated with the later humanism. Thoughts

[1] Rector, 33.
[2] *Ibid.*, 69.

first, form and expression were after considerations; in history, lessons were to be drawn from an appreciation of the characters studied, the reason for certain happenings exacted rather than the memory of them. Dates were unimportant in comparison to the lessons in prudence and experience contained in history. This was in fact the main study in his scheme, the one most befitting a young gentleman, and was to be pursued with most attention. In all of the remaining subjects of the curriculum he proposed a real purpose, namely, the utility of the study for the pupil's present needs. So mere learning of itself he condemned. "If the mind be not better disposed, if the judgment be no better settled, I would rather my student had spent his time at tennis, for at least his body would be in better health by that exercise."[1]

Montaigne thought parents were often too indulgent to children in not allowing them some hardships in order to develop their bodily powers for the strain of life. He approved of physical exercises in all the games and pastimes of the period such as riding, hunting, running and jumping, and, keeping the training of the man in view, he advocated the exposure of the young to the extremes of heat and cold, and to wind and sun. He would wean the child from all effeminacy in eating, drinking, clothes and lodging.

Montaigne desired pleasant surroundings in the classroom and a milder discipline than prevailed in the colleges he knew of. "Where their profit is there should also be their pleasure." He also desired that the young be trained to virtue but did not give the means for this moral training. His views like those of his predecessor, Rabelais, widely read in his own time and ever since, are chiefly critical of

[1] Cf. *Pedantry*. *Essays*, Bk. i, ch. xxiv. Cf. Rector, 96.

the period. He offers, however, with his criticism many wholesome views on the practical side of training and some which will have a profound influence on Locke and Rousseau.

In the Englishman **Richard Mulcaster** (1531–1611) were combined the schoolmaster of long experience and the educational writer whose views were far in advance of his age. He was born of poor parents in Cumberland, and received his education at Eton, Cambridge and Oxford. He graduated from Oxford in 1556, and was then well versed in the classics and in Hebrew. When the Merchant Taylors' School, London, was founded in 1560 Mulcaster was appointed the first headmaster, an office which he held for over twenty-five years. Queen Elizabeth conferred upon him the rectorship of Stanford Rivers, but he attended more to teaching than to clerical offices. The Merchant Taylors' School prospered under his direction. Because of trouble with the governors he resigned, and for twelve years he directed St. Paul's School, London.

Mulcaster's conceited and haughty spirit showed itself in his writings. Although he wrote in English he lacked an attractive style and for this reason his works were not read widely enough to be of great contemporary influence. They possessed real value, nevertheless, for many of his ideas and theories have been adopted in the nineteenth century and put into practice. His first work appeared in 1581 bearing the title: *Positions wherein those Primitive Circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the Training up of Children, either for skill in their Booke or Health in their Bodie.* A later work (1582), *Elementarie which entreateth chieflie of the right Writing of the English tung,* contains additional views on the beginnings of education.

Mulcaster had a very modern view of the importance of elementary training. For this reason he wrote the *Elementarie*. He did not fix the age at which school life should begin, for this, he believed, depended upon the individual. The beginning being the most important phase of training it was necessary to have the best teachers for it, and hence these should be the best paid of all. In the face of conditions which have prevailed almost to the present time Mulcaster's views on this point are remarkable. In appealing for the best teachers in the elementary classes, he says:

"The first master can deal but with a few, the next with more, and so still upward as reason groweth on and receives without forcing. It is the foundation well and soundly laid, which makes all the upper building muster, with countenance and continuance. If I were to strike the stroke, as I am but to give counsel, the first pains truly taken should in good truth be most liberally recompensed; and less allowed still upward, as the pains diminish and the ease increaseth. Whereat no master hath cause to repine, so he may have his children well grounded in the Elementarie. Whose imperfection at this day doth marvelously trouble both masters and scholars, so that we can hardly do any good, nay, scantly tell how to place the too too raw boys in any certain form, with hope to go forward orderly, the ground-work of their entry being so rotten underneath."[1]

Mulcaster advocated the use of English in the elementary classes and urged giving a good knowledge of it before beginning Latin. "Our best understanding is in our natural tongue, and all our foreign learning is applied to our use by means of our own; and without the applica-

[1] *Positions*, pp. 223, 4. London, 1887.

tion to particular use, wherefore serves learning?" In the *Elementarie* he says: "I honour foreign tongues, but wish my own to be partaker of their honour. Knowing them, I wish my own tongue to resemble their grace. I confess their furniture, and wish it were ours."[1]

In the elementary period besides reading and writing he desired that singing, playing of a musical instrument and drawing be taught. Assuming that instruction begins at six, the child would profit most by a thorough fundamental training lasting until his twelfth year. In the higher or grammar school he would spend five years; but in regard to this curriculum Mulcaster did not differ essentially from the practice of the time. As already noted he was a headmaster of two of London's most famous Latin schools. He gave in greater detail than previous writers the physical aspect of training. A large part, fully one-third of the *Positions*, treats of games, and exercises like dancing, running, leaping, swimming, wrestling, riding, hunting, and of physiology and the conservation of health.

In Mulcaster's plan girls should have almost the same training as boys, that is, cultural, literary and musical. He pleads for this as for the maintenance of a venerable custom in his country which "hath made the maiden's train (education) her own approved travail." Another important appeal is that for the professional training of teachers. He is the first to have proposed to England, and to Cambridge in particular, the practical scheme of training teachers at the university, in a college especially designated for them. "Why should not teachers be well provided for, to continue their whole life in the school, as Divines, Lawyers, Physicians do in their several professions? Thereby judgment, cunning, and discretion will

[1] Quoted in Quick, *Educational Reformers*, 534.

grow in them: and masters would prove old men, and such as Xenophon setteth over children in the schooling of Cyrus." He urged his plea "that this trade requireth a particular college" first, because the education of children is the means to make or mar the whole fry of the nation; second, because of the number of children and of teachers; third, because of the necessity of the profession of teaching which cannot be spared; fourth, because of the nature and dignity of the science and art of teaching.

This schoolmaster would extend the facilities for education to all as their common right, but he would also restrict the number of the learned lest they become idle and seditious. His most notable contributions to the theory of his time were in behalf of elementary education, the use of the vernacular, the preparation of teachers, and the method of teaching which should respect the powers of the child and tend towards a symmetrical development physically and intellectually. His ideas had little effect on English schools but later theorists were deeply influenced by them.

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CHAPTER XXII

REALISM—(Continued)

Sense Realists

Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam (1561–1626), another Englishman, claims attention here as an educational innovator. He was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal under Queen Elizabeth, and of Anne, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, the renowned tutor of Edward VI. It is thought that his early education was received at home under tutors. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of thirteen. Three years later he began the study of law but quickly discontinued it to become attached in some official way to the English embassy in Paris. "After he had passed the circle of the liberal arts," says his early biographer, "his father thought fit to frame and mould him for the arts of state."[1] Returning to England after his father's death he resumed the study of law and was admitted to practice in 1582, being then twenty-one years of age. Two years later he was elected to Parliament and quickly won recognition for his ability as a speaker and writer. He made a close friend of Essex, the favorite of Queen Elizabeth, but did not succeed in gaining the royal favor and patronage as readily as he desired, for as Rawley observed, though Elizabeth "cheered him with the bounty of her counte-

[1] Rawley, *Life of Francis Bacon,* in *The Works of Francis Bacon,* collected and edited by Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, vol. 1, 37. New York, 1869.

nance, yet she never cheered him with the bounty of her hand."[1]

Bacon sued more successfully for advancement under James I. From Counsel Learned to His Majesty, he became in 1607 Solicitor General, and in 1613, Attorney General. In 1617 he was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, an office once held by his father, and in 1681 he rose to the rank of Lord High Chancellor with the title of Baron Verulam, becoming Viscount St. Albans in 1621. Accused at the height of a brilliant career of corruption and venality in having accepted bribes, Bacon confessed his guilt, and was stripped of his offices by Parliament. Although allowed to retain his titles, he was declared incapable of holding thereafter any office, place or employment in the State, neither could he appear in Court or Parliament. Bacon's remaining years were devoted to literary and scientific pursuits. While experimenting with the preservative qualities of snow he contracted a cold which resulted in his death.

When a student in Cambridge Bacon acquired a dislike for Aristotelian philosophy and the methods then prevalent in the schools, and even as a young man, when striving with all his energies for political preferment, he believed that he had a mission to perform in behalf of science and learning. As early as 1592 he wrote to his uncle, Lord Burleigh, that he had taken all knowledge to be his province, and that if he could purge the field of "two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations and verbosities (the schoolmen), and the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures (unmethodical investigators, *e.g.*, alchemists, astrologers, etc.) hath committed so many spoils," he

[1] *Ibid.*, 40.

hoped to bring in industrious observations and profitable inventions and discoveries. Whether one considered this curiosity, or vainglory, or nature, he said, it was so fixed in his mind that it could not be removed.

During a busy career he did not abandon this purpose and all his leisure was spent in study and writing. The great work in which he hoped to execute his plan but which he did not live to complete, was the *Instauratio Magna* (the *Great Restoration* or *Renewal*), in the preface of which he says: "There is no other course left but with better assistance to begin the work anew, and raise or rebuild the sciences, arts and all human knowledge from a firm and solid basis." It consisted of three parts: *The Dignity and Advancement of Learning*, a defense, survey, and examination of the sciences, which appeared in 1605;[1] *Novum Organum* (*New Instrument*), a presentation of the rules and principles of his new method, a study in deduction and induction (1620); and the *Sylva Sylvarum*, or *Natural History*, a product of his last years. The remaining parts which entered into his scheme were never completed.

Bacon's educational views are found in this work, also in the *New Atlantis*, an unfinished Utopian fable, wherein the pansophic university, "Solomon's House," is described; and in some of his numerous Essays, especially those *Of Parents and Children*, *Of Travel*, *Of Custom and Education* and *Of Studies*. He rarely wrote directly on educational topics, and his views, although attractively expressed, did not surpass the best educational thought of the Renaissance.

[1] Later in life Bacon translated this work into Latin with "several enrichments and enlargements," under the title *De Augmentis Scientiarum*.

One of the chief services Bacon rendered to education was, as Laurie observes, "his including it among the sciences to be studied. It was called by him 'tradition'—the handing down of the acquired intellectual possessions of mankind to those who are to be our successors."[1] His development of the inductive method, however, must ever remain his great contribution to science and ultimately, through his successors, Ratke and Comenius, to education. He did not invent induction, but, as has been well said, "he gave to the world the Logic of induction and formulated the practice of Galilei and the premonitions of Da Vinci. He was, as Isaac Newton called him, 'the great secretary of Nature and Science.'"[2] The following aphorisms contained in the *Novum Organum* refer to what has often been called the scientific method.

I. "Man, as the minister and interpreter of nature, does and understands as much as his observations on the order of nature, either with regard to things or the mind, permit him, and neither knows nor is capable of more."

IX. "The sole cause and root of almost every defect in the sciences is this, that while we falsely admire and extol the powers of the human mind, we do not search for its real helps."

XIX. "There are and can exist but two ways of investigating and discovering truth. The one hurries on rapidly from the senses and particulars to the most general axioms, and from them, as principles and their supposed indisputable truth, derives and discovers the intermediate axioms. This is the way now in use. The other constructs its axioms from the senses and particulars, by ascending particularly and gradually, till it finally arrives

[1] Laurie, *Educational Opinion from the Renaissance*, 121.
[2] Laurie, *Ibid.*

at the most general axioms, which is the true but unattempted way."

While Bacon was not a master of induction, and while he underestimated deduction, which had been and was again to be an instrument in the discovery of truth, his principles were destined to be of far-reaching effect in the hands of later educators, especially Ratke and Comenius.

Wolfgang Ratke, or **Ratich** (from Ratichius, the Latinized form of his name), was born at Wilster in Holstein in 1571. He studied for the Lutheran ministry at Hamburg and the University of Rostock, but owing to a defect in speech which spoiled his preaching, he turned to educational work. While traveling in England he became acquainted with the philosophy of Bacon and developed his educational plans in accordance with it. When forty years of age he addressed a memorial to the Imperial Diet held at Frankfurt-on-Main, 1612, in which he placed before the princes a number of startling propositions, since famous as his educational claims. He declared that he was able first to teach young or old Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, or other languages, in a very short time and without any difficulty; second, to establish schools in which all arts should be taught and extended; third, to introduce and peaceably establish throughout the German Empire a uniform speech, a uniform government and a uniform religion.

The princes were so favorably impressed by his proposal that a committee was appointed to examine his scheme. They reported favorably on it, saying: "Ratichius has discovered the art of teaching according to Nature. By his method, languages will be quickly learned, so that we shall have time for science; and science will be learned even better still, as the natural system suits best with science, which is the study of Nature." As a result the

town of Augsburg engaged Ratke and his assistant Holweg to apply the system to their schools. The scheme after one year met with the disapproval of the townspeople of Augsburg and Ratke left for other scenes of labor.

At Köthen Ratke was given an excellent opportunity to prove his claims. Prince Lewis of Anhalt-Köthen at the instance of his sister Duchess Dorothy of Weimer, who had studied Hebrew under Ratke, authorized the organization of a band of teachers who were to be instructed by Ratke himself. They were sworn to secrecy regarding the new methods. Buildings were provided at Köthen and about five hundred children received into the schools. Ratke apparently lacked all power of administration and this experiment, like that of Augsburg, proved a failure. Furthermore, Ratke was thrown into prison by the enraged Prince Lewis, who believed he had been duped by an impostor. While in prison Ratke signed a paper to the effect that he had attempted more than he was able to accomplish. A later experiment in Magdeburg met with similar results. Ratke received, however, an offer to reform the schools of Sweden, but a stroke of paralysis affecting his tongue and right arm prevented him accepting. He died in 1635.

Ratke's failures, it is generally admitted, were due to his lack of tact and of administrative power. He fell into serious difficulties with his assistants, and sectarian difficulties with the townspeople by whom he was engaged. Some of his ideas were nevertheless influential in shaping modern education. The most important are contained in the rules laid down in his work on method, *Methodus Institutionis Nova*, published at Leipzig, 1617, some of which follow:

I. In everything we should follow the order of nature.

The natural sequence along which the human intelligence moves in acquiring knowledge must be studied, and instruction must be based on the knowledge of it.

II. One thing at a time.

III. The same thing should be often repeated.

IV. First let the mother-tongue be studied, and teach everything through the mother-tongue, so that the learner's attention may not be diverted by language.

V. Everything without constraint. "Boys are often beaten for not having learned, but they would have learned had they been well taught."

VI. Nothing may be learned by rote.

VII. Uniformity in all things—in methods, books, and discipline.

VIII. The thing itself should come first, then whatever explains it, things before words.

IX. Everything is to be learned through induction, by experience and investigation.

In Ratke's school the Bible was used as a reader. When the children knew the alphabet, Genesis was read, and by a uniform method, the teacher reading the whole book first, then each chapter twice, before asking for attempts by the children. Grammar was taught in connection with reading. A Latin author was read several times in a translation before being rendered into German. The task of translating was methodically performed and involved especially the rule on repetition.

Ratke exerted only a slight influence on his contemporaries. He prepared the way for Comenius, and modern education is especially indebted to him for his efforts in behalf of method in teaching. Although he had many shortcomings in respect to method as, for instance, in requiring too much repetition, too much uniformity, and

too great attention to the inductive process, he strove fruitfully in behalf of (1) teaching in accordance with the child's nature; (2) the vernacular; (3) thoroughness in whatever is studied; and (4) mildness in discipline.

John Amos Comenius (Komensky), heir to the published theories of Ratke, was a more practical follower of Bacon. Both as a teacher and writer he applied to education the new Baconian principles pertaining to the investigation of truth. Although he enjoyed international fame in his own day as an educational reformer, he was soon forgotten and for over two hundred years his works were almost entirely neglected.

Comenius was born in the village of Nivnitz, Moravia, in 1592, one hundred years after the birth of Vives. He lost both parents when very young, and his early education seems to have been irregular. He did not begin the study of Latin until his seventeenth year—a late beginning for a pupil of that period. With the intention of preparing for the ministry of the Protestant sect known as the Moravian Brethren, he pursued higher studies in various German cities, especially Herborn and Heidelberg. Upon his return to Moravia he taught in one of the schools of the Brethren in Prerau. He was duly advanced to the ministry, but while Comenius was a devout member of his communion, and as a bishop a capable leader of an exiled church, his chief activities were along educational lines. Before the age of twenty-five he published his first book on grammar, *Grammaticae facilioris Praecepta.* He wrote much of a spiritual nature to support his coreligionists during the religious strife of the Thirty Years' War. When Protestants were expelled from Moravia in 1628 by Imperial decree he took refuge in Poland, settling in Lissa. Here also as in Fulneck, his

former parochial charge, he taught school. This period was very productive in educational works. He then wrote the *Great Didactic*, *Didactica Magna*, which was to show "the art of readily and solidly teaching men all things," and his other more famous work, the one which won for him a European reputation, the *Janua Linguarum Reserata*, or *Gate of Tongues Unlocked*. There, too, he began to dream of his pansophic scheme, or plan to impart all knowledge, which resembled in its literary aspect the medieval attempt of Vincent of Bauvais, and in its institutional equipment the Baconian pansophic university.

When his reputation as an educational reformer was established Comenius received an invitation to reform the schools of Sweden, and after refusing this, was invited by the British Parliament to submit his plans to England. He accepted the latter and his own account of his visit to England is especially interesting in reference to his pansophic scheme:

"My people having consented to the journey, I came to London on the very day of the autumnal equinox (September 22, 1641) and there at last learned that I had been invited by the order of the Parliament. But as the Parliament, the King having gone to Scotland, was dismissed for a three months' recess, I was detained there through the winter, my friends mustering what pansophic apparatus they could, though it was but slender. . . . The Parliament meanwhile, having reassembled, and our presence being known, I had orders to wait until they should have sufficient leisure from other business to appoint a commission of learned and wise men from their body for hearing us and considering the grounds of our design. They communicated also beforehand their thoughts of assigning to us some college with its revenues, whereby a certain number of learned and industrious men called from all nations might be honourably maintained, either for a time of years or in perpetuity. There was even named for the purpose The Savoy in London; Winchester College out of London was named; and again nearer the city, Chelsea College; inventories of which and of its revenues were communicated

to us, so that nothing seemed more certain than that the design of the Great Verulam, concerning the opening somewhere of a Universal college, devoted to the advancement of the Sciences, could be carried out. But the rumour of the Insurrection in Ireland, and of the massacre in one night of more than 200,000 English and the sudden departure of the King from London and the plentiful signs of the bloody war about to break out disturbed these plans, and obliged me to hasten my return to my own people." [1]

Convinced that a reconstruction of the methods for language study was fundamental to all of his pansophic plans, Comenius devoted most of his time for some years to the preparation of text-books, one of which was the *Methodus Linguarum Novissima*. Although as bishop he took a prominent part in the religious and political controversies of the period, he still continued his educational work and was for a time engaged in reforming the schools of Transylvania. Later on he directed a school of the Brethren at Sáros-Patak. He lived again in Lissa but was finally driven out by the Poles after the Swedish invasion, because he had publicly welcomed a Protestant enemy to the country. After more wandering he settled in Amsterdam and there spent the last years of his life in teaching and writing. He died in 1671 at the age of eighty.

Among the voluminous writings of Comenius over forty treat of education. The *Didactica Magna* is, however, the chief exposition of his principles and methods; the *Janua Linguarum Reserata*, the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, and the *Vestibulum* are the most famous of his text-books.

Pansophia, or universal widsom, is fundamental to Comenius' educational aim. It must be remembered for a proper understanding of his activities as an educator,

[1] Cf. Quick, *Educational Reformers*, 126. New York, 1899.

for toward it all his didactic efforts tend. The following aphorisms were given forth by Comenius in explanation of it, *i.e.*, of the manner in which this universal knowledge is to be obtained.[1]

1. Universal knowledge, so far as it can be obtained by man, has as its objects God, nature, and art.

2. A perfect knowledge of these three is to be sought.

3. The knowledge of things is perfect when it is full, true and ordered.

4. Knowledge is true when things are apprehended as they exist in reality.

5. Things are apprehended in their essential nature when the manner in which they have come into existence is understood.

6. Each object comes into existence in accordance with its "idea," that is to say, in relation to a certain rational conception through which it can be what it is.

7. It follows that the rational conceptions of things are identical, and only differ in the form of their manifestation, existing in God as an Archetype, in nature as an Ectype, and in art as an Antitype.

8 Therefore the basis of producing as of apprehending all things is harmony.

9. The first requisite of harmony is that there should be nothing dissonant.

10. The second is that there should be nothing that is not consonant.

11. The third is that the infinite variety of sounds and concords should spring from a few fundamental ones, and should come into being by definite and regular processes of differentiation.

[1] Keatinge, *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius*, 33. London, 1910.

12. Therefore, if we know the fundamental conceptions and the modes of their differentiation, we shall know all things.

13. Such rational conceptions can be abstracted from phenomena by means of a certain method of induction, and must be posited as the norms of phenomenal existence.

14. These norms of truth must be abstracted from those objects whose nature is such that they cannot be otherwise, and which are at everyone's disposal for the purpose of making experiments, that is to say, from natural phenomena.

Man's ultimate end is eternal happiness with God and there are three stages in the preparation for eternity: to know oneself (and with oneself all things); to rule oneself and to direct oneself to God; or to express these things in three well-known words, Erudition; Virtue or seemly morals; and Religion or piety. The seeds of these three are naturally implanted in us, "but the actual knowledge, virtue and piety are not so given. These must be acquired by prayer, by education, and by action. He gave no bad definition who said that man was a 'teachable animal' and indeed it is only by a proper education that he can become a man." Comenius believed that the young of both sexes, both noble and ignoble, rich and poor, should be educated, and for this schools were necessary. "Let none be excluded unless God has denied him sense and intelligence."[1]

The basis of school reform must be exact order in all things. "The art of teaching, therefore, demands nothing more than the skilful arrangement of time, of the subjects taught, and of method." (Chap. xiii.) The exact order of instruction must be borrowed from nature. "If we wish to find a remedy for the defects of nature, it is in

[1] Keatinge, *The Great Didactic*, 67.

nature herself that we must look for it, since it is certain that art can do nothing unless it imitate nature." (Chap. xiv).

Comenius drew up a number of these principles from nature and urged them as the basis of method. Nature observes a suitable time. Nature prepares the material before she begins to give it form. Nature chooses a fit subject to act upon, or first submits one to a suitable treatment in order to make it fit. In all the operations of nature development is from within. Nature, in its formative process, begins with the universal and ends with the particular. Nature makes no leaps, but proceeds step by step. Nature carefully avoids obstacles and things likely to cause hurt.

He also gave a number of principles which were to assure facility in teaching and learning. "Following in the footsteps of nature we find that the process of education will be easy: (1) If it begin early, before the mind is corrupted; (2) If the mind be duly prepared to receive it; (3) If it proceed from the general to the particular; (4) And from what is easy to what is more difficult; (5) If the pupil be not overburdened by too many subjects; (6) And if progress be slow in every case; (7) If the intellect be forced to nothing to which its natural bent does not incline it, in accordance with its age and with the right method; (8) If everything be taught through the medium of the senses; (9) If the use of everything taught be continually kept in view; (10) If everything be taught according to one and the same method." "These," said Comenius, "are the principles to be adopted if education is to be easy and pleasant."[1] He treated these and many other

[1] *Great Diactic*, chap. xvii.

principles in order to show that nature should be imitated in educational method.

On the study of languages Comenius also expressed significant views. "Now the necessary languages are these: the vernacular, for use at home, and the languages of adjoining countries, for the sake of holding intercourse with neighbors. . . . For the reading of serious books Latin is also advisable, as it is the common language of the learned. . . . The study of languages, especially in youth, should be joined to that of objects, that our acquaintance with the objective world and with language, that is to say, our knowledge of facts and our power to express them, may progress side by side. For it is men that we are forming and not parrots."[1] Words, he held, should not be learned apart from the objects to which they refer, and his text-books, the *Vestibulum* and *Janua*, were devised upon that plan.

Comenius divided school life into four periods of six years each: infancy, in the mother school lasting until the age of six; childhood, in the vernacular school until the age of twelve; boyhood, in the Latin school, until the age of eighteen; youth, in the university, until the age of twenty-four. In the mother school the children were to be instructed by the mother in correct speaking, in observation and in their religion. Comenius wrote his *School of Infancy* for the instruction of parents and teachers in directing the education of this period. It appeared first in Bohemian and was subsequently translated into German, Polish, Latin and English (1641).[2] For its piety it resembles the writings of Gerson. The vernacular or elementary school of Comenius had these notable charac-

[1] *Ibid.*, chap. xxii.
[2] Monroe, W. S. *Comenius' School of Infancy.* Boston, 1908.

teristics: it was intended for all children; it included reading and writing in the mother-tongue, drawing, arithmetic, singing, civil government, history, geography, and the catechism. The Latin school differs from those of the period in that "the pupils should learn four languages (vernacular, Latin, Greek and Hebrew), and acquire an encyclopaedic knowledge of the arts," *i. e.*, the seven liberal arts, being versed also in physics, geography, history, morals, and, to some extent, in theology. They would have a solid foundation for advanced courses in the university. In the latter, specialization in theology, medicine, law, etc., may hold, but "those of exceptional talent should be urged to pursue all the branches of study that there may always be some men whose knowledge is encyclopaedic." [1]

The *Janua Linguarum Reserata, Gate of Languages Unlocked*, the most famous of Comenius' text-books, embodies the ideas of the reformer on the method of studying Latin. It contains about 8,000 common Latin words arranged so as to form 1,000 sentences; on one side of the page appears a Latin phrase, and on the other, the same in the vernacular. Each word is used in its root-signification and with the exception of the particles occurs only once. Each of the one hundred sections, or chapters, deals with some topic taken from life, nature, the arts and sciences, and the virtues, such as trees, the parts of the body, arithmetic, friendship, temperance, etc. The boy learned the Latin word in association with the object, and became familiar by graded lessons with all the ordinary grammatical constructions. The success of the book was marvelous. It was translated into twelve European and four Oriental languages during the lifetime of Comenius.

[1] *Great Didactic*, chap. xxxi., Cf. Keatinge, *ibid.*, 282.

It was not, however, an entirely original work. The idea had been suggested by Bodin (Bodinus, 1530–1596), but was never carried out by him,[1] while an Irish Jesuit, **William Bathe**[2] (Bateus, 1564–1614), then a teacher at Salamanca, Spain, had already produced in 1611 a Janua Linguarum from which Comenius borrowed more than the name. This pioneer work was intended to facilitate language study for missionaries in the mastery of foreign tongues, confessors, men advanced in years, students of grammar, teachers, men of affairs, for all those in short, says the author,"who object to spending long years in the study of the litterae humaniores, all who wish to learn the nobler languages Italian, Spanish, German, French." The collection of sentences originally designed to be 1,200 in number ran up to about 1,330, and the total number of words was about 5,300, making a book of 144 pages quarto. In the first edition only Latin and Spanish were used, while in later editions four and even eight languages were incorporated. The work appeared in England in a Latin and English version in 1615, and again in 1617 as *The*

[1] Keatinge, *ibid.* 19.

[2] William Bathe, a native of Dublin, was the eldest son of John Bathe, Attorney-General and Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland under Elizabeth, and Eleanor Preston, daughter of Jenico Preston, third Viscount Gormanston. He studied, as he tells us, "humanities in Ireland, philosophy at Oxford and Louvain and theology at Louvain." As a student he wrote *A Brief Introduction to the Art of Music* (London, 1584), to which he later added *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song.* (London, 1600). He won the favor of Queen Elizabeth through his writings and musical skill. He entered the Jesuit noviceship at Tournai, completing his studies in Padua, where he was ordained priest in 1601. As the companion of Father Louis Manzoni, Apostolic Nuncio to Ireland, he went on a diplomatic mission to Spain and there spent the rest of his life. While a member of the staff of the Irish College at Salamanca, he produced in colaboration with *other Irish Fathers* of the Society the first Janua Linguarum. For his influence on Comenius see Pace, E. A. *Bathe and Comenius,* in Catholic University Bulletin, vol. xiii, 354. (July, 1907.)

Messe of Tongues, Latin, French, English, Hispanish, neatly served up together for a wholesome repast to the worthy curiosite of the studious. The method was quickly applied to all of the modern tongues and had been adapted to eight languages before 1629. Comenius speaks of it in the preface to his *Janua* and again in the *Novissima Linguarum Methodus*, in the latter as the "elegans inventio Januae Linguarum Hibernica." He was disappointed with it as a Janua, Gate, or introduction. It would not aid beginners, he said, because of the character of the words used. Nevertheless he adopted the same construction as his predecessor, using sentences pertaining more to objects than did those of Bath. As a careful student of the two works has written: "An examination of typical portions of the Irish *Janua Linguarum* will show that its *sententiae morales* were in far closer conformity to true educational ideals than were the later if better known *sententiae reales* of Comenius. The former aimed at conveying sound ethical principles through words complete, but not encyclopaedic in their range: the latter offered a systematized vocabulary for natural objects. It will be easy to form a judgment as to which of the two recedes from true reality into the dreary waste of mere verbal knowledge."[1]

The *Janua Linguarum Reserata* proved too difficult, however, for beginners and in order to meet their wants Comenius composed the *Vestibulum*, or *Entrance Hall*, to the *Janua*.[2] This employs about 1,000 of the most common Latin words in 427 sentences. It too was successful although never as popular as the *Janua*. As a help to

[1] Corcoran, Rev. T., S.J. *Studies in the History of Classical Teaching*, xviii. London, 1911.

[2] *Januae Linguarum reseratae Vestibulum quo primus ad Latinam Linguam aditus Tirunculis paratur.*

both the *Vestibulum* and the *Janua*, Comenius produced the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus, World of Sensible Things Pictured*, really a simplified and illustrated edition of the *Janua*. The objects in each picture are numbered and the numbers are affixed to individual words in the text so that the pupil may pick out in the picture the exact object to which the word refers. This work, the first picture-book written for children, went through numberless editions and was used extensively in the home and school.

Comenius' influence on contemporary education was comparatively slight. His theories did not affect school administration or methods, and although his text-books were widely disseminated they failed as instruments of teaching. "Comenius immensely overestimated the importance of knowledge and the power of the human mind to acquire knowledge."[1] His text-books were too condensed, did not admit of repetition with interest, relied too much on information and did not consistently embody the principles of induction to which he had otherwise subscribed. He endeavored, however, to formulate educational method along scientific lines, while retaining a religious purpose and aim; and in large measure he succeeded. Rousseau could propose many of his ideas as novelties and Basedow could attract attention by applying his method of illustration and object-teaching; while many of his principles were consciously or unconsciously adopted and elaborated by the later upholders of sense training, correlation and natural method. His works were revived by German scholars in the middle of the nineteenth century.

[1] Quick. *Educational Reformers*, 168.

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CHAPTER XXIII

REALISTS AND THEORISTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

John Locke (1632-1704), was born of Puritan parents at Wrington, near Bristol, England. At the age of twenty he entered Oxford and took up with avidity the study of philosophy, natural science and medicine. His course was interrupted for a year to enable him to go as private secretary to Sir Walter Vane on a diplomatic mission to Germany. He returned afterward to Oxford and completed his studies, but did not take a degree. In 1667 he became associated with Lord Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftsbury, in the capacity of secretary, physician and tutor of his son. Through this connection with Shaftsbury, at one time Lord Chancellor, he obtained important public offices, but when his patron fell from power and fled from England Locke sought refuge with him in Holland, returning in 1689, after six years' absence. In 1693 he published his *Thoughts Concerning Education*, which with his great philosophical work, *Essay Concerning the Human Understanding*, and another essay on the *Conduct of the Understanding*, contains his views on the training of the young.

Locke's educational experience was limited to private teaching as tutor in the household of Lord Ashley and other noblemen. His first pupil, Lord Ashley's son, a sickly child, recovered under Locke's direction, afterward married and brought up seven children, the oldest of whom, a son, Locke also educated. His advice and direction, as a physician and tutor, were often sought

by parents. The *Thoughts Concerning Education* were originally letters to his friend Edward Clarke of Chipley in reference to the upbringing of his son. The views there expressed refer exclusively to the training of the young gentleman, or noble child, and not to youth in general. "That most to be taken care of is the gentleman's calling. For if those of that rank are by their education once set right, they will quickly bring all the rest into order."[1]

In philosophy Locke ranks as the first of British empiricists whose basic doctrine was that all knowledge is acquired by experience. The mind is in the beginning according to him a blank sheet, *tabula rasa*. Experience through *sensation*, or the perception of external phenomena by means of the senses, and through *reflection*, or the perception of the internal phenomena, that is, of the activity of the understanding itself, is the source of all our ideas. He applied to the study of mental processes the method advocated by Bacon for the study of natural phenomena. In education as well as in philosophy he holds many views in common with Bacon, but he is much more truly the disciple of Montaigne. As the practical philosopher he teaches that the boy must be reared physically and morally with great care and that his instruction be first related to concrete things. He is consequently to be classified with the sense realists.

Locke's educational aim is threefold: (1) Vigor of body; (2) Virtue of the soul, with its manifestation in good breeding: wisdom in conduct; (3) Knowledge, or mental acquirements: but this latter is subordinate to health of body, virtue, and good breeding. To physical training the first sections of the *Thoughts* are devoted (1 to 29). He begins the work with the following: "A sound mind

[1] *Thoughts Concerning Education:* Epistle Dedicatory.

in a sound body, is a short, but full description of a happy state in this world; he that has these two, has little more to wish for, and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for anything else. Men's happiness, or misery, is most part of their own making." It seems but natural that Locke as the physician should first examine, and so minutely, this phase of training. "I imagine the minds of children, as easily turned, this or that way, as water itself; and though this be the principal part, and our main care be about the inside, yet the clay cottage is not to be neglected. I shall therefore begin with the case, and consider first the health of the body, as that which perhaps you may rather expect, from that study I have been thought more peculiarly to have applied myself to."[1]

For the preservation and improvement of a healthy "or at least not a sickly constitution in their children" he advises parents that children be not two warmly clothed even in winter; they should go bareheaded: boys should learn to swim and should run in the open air. He outlines their diet, forbids meat to small children, urges early retiring and rising, eight hours' sleep, and in short advises a care and training that always tends to develop hardiness.

His views on moral training may be summarized as follows: "We should keep the body strong so that it may be able to execute and obey the orders of the mind: the next thing is "to set the mind right, that on all occasions it may be disposed to consent to nothing but what may be suitable to the duty and excellency of a rational creature. . . . I do not doubt . . . that the difference to be found in the manners and abilities of men is owing more to their education than to anything else. . . . As the strength of the body lies chiefly in being able to endure

[1] Sect. 2.

hardships so also does that of the mind. And the great principle and foundation of all virtue and worth is placed in this, that a man is able to deny himself his own desires, cross his own inclinations, and purely follow what reason directs as best, though the appetite lean the other way." Self-denial and self-control must early be learned. Mind must be obedient to discipline and pliant to reason when at first it is most tender, most easy to be bowed. Children should be used to submit their desires and go without their longings, even from their cradles. The first thing they should learn should be that they were not to have anything because it pleased them, but because it was thought fit for them.

The formation of good habits is the main purpose in early training. The authority of the parent or teacher must be ever recognized by the child. Awe and fear give first power over children's minds, love of friendship in riper years will hold it. Severe punishments are of little good. Praise and commendation are better. "Children who have been most chastised seldom make the best men." Corporal punishment should rarely be applied and only in cases of extremity. "On the other hand to flatter children by rewards of things that are pleasant to them is as carefully to be avoided." Esteem and disgrace are proper instruments of discipline when the love of the one and fear of the other have been assiduously cultivated. The example of the parent or teacher, and Locke agrees with Montaigne in preferring the tutor or private instructor, is important here. "You must do nothing before him which you would not have him imitate."[1] "It is virtue," he says, "direct virtue which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in education; and not a forward pertness, or

[1] Sect. 71.

any little arts of shifting. All other considerations and accomplishments should give way, and be postponed, to this. This is the solid and substantial good, which tutors should not only read lectures and talk of; but the labour and art of education should furnish the mind with, and fasten there, and never cease, till the young man had a true relish for it, and placed his strength, his glory and his pleasure in it."[1]

Placing virtue first Locke held it to be absolutely requisite to make the pupil "valued and beloved by others, acceptable or tolerable to himself. Without that, I think, he will be happy neither in this, nor the other world." He would have him instructed in religion, and kept "constantly morning and evening to acts of devotion to God," as to the Maker, Preserver, and Benefactor of all. He should have a "true notion of God, as of the independent supreme Being, author and maker of all things, from whom we receive all our good, who loves us, and gives us all things: and, consequent to this . . . a love and reverence of this supreme Being."[2]

The intellectual side of the young man's training, according to Locke, is secondary to the moral. The boy needed not as Comenius thought to acquire universal knowledge. "The business of education," said Locke, "is not to make the young perfect in any one of the sciences, but so to open and dispose their minds as may best make them capable of any, when they shall apply themselves to it."[3] In his description of the tutor this is made clearer and the general character of the mental training exposed. "The great work of a governor is to fashion the carriage, and form the mind; to settle in his pupil good habits, and

[1] Sect. 70.
[2] Sect. 136
[3] Sect. 19.

the principles of virtue and wisdom; to give him, by little and little, a view of mankind; and work him into a love and imitation of what is excellent and praiseworthy; and, in prosecution of it, to give him vigour, activity, and industry. The studies which he sets him upon are but, as it were, the exercises of his faculties, and employment of his time, to keep him from sauntering and idleness, to teach him application, and accustom him to take pains, and to give him some little taste of what his own industry must perfect. For who expects, that under a tutor a young gentleman should be an accomplished critic, orator, or logician; go to the bottom of metaphysics, natural philosophy, or mathematics; or be a master in history or chronology; though something of each of these is to be taught him; but it is only to open the door, that he may look in, and, as it were, begin an acquaintance, but not to dwell there: and a governor would be much blamed, that should keep his pupil too long, and lead him too far in most of them. But of good breeding, knowledge of the world, virtue, industry, and a love of reputation, he cannot have too much: and, if he have these, he will not long want what he needs or desires of the other."[1]

Mental power and activity Locke sought after rather than knowledge. While in the *Thoughts* he wrote: "This, as the highest and most important faculty of our minds, deserves the greatest care and attention in cultivating it: the right improvement and exercise of our reason being the highest perfection that a man can attain to in this life" (Sect. 122), and "None of the things they are to learn should ever be made a burden to them, or imposed on them as a task" (Sect. 73), because he desired learning to be pleasurable; elsewhere in the *Thoughts* and in the *Conduct of the*

[1] Sect. 94.

Understanding he points to the necessity of discipline of mind. "Few men are from their youth accustomed to strict reasoning, and to trace the dependence of any truth, in a long train of consequences, to its remotest principles and to observe its connexion; and he that by frequent practice has not been used to this employment of his understanding, it is no wonder that he should not, when he is grown into years, be able to bring his mind to it, than that he should not be, on a sudden, able to grave or design, dance on ropes, or write a good hand, who has never practiced them."[1]

As an educational theorist Locke is difficult to classify. He has been designated the humanist, realist and utilitarian, and there are grounds for each classification. He most closely resembles Montaigne and like the French philosopher may be most safely called the Realist, the philosophical writer aiming for a practical and concrete training for the young. Locke, however, wrote for one class in English society, the gentry; his ideas were not intended for and were not adopted in the schools. They nevertheless influenced English and American education, especially in regard to the training process, the embodiment of the idea of discipline in education, and they also affected Rousseau in the formulation of his 'education according to nature.'

The learned French writer and prelate, **Fénelon,** represents another phase of the reform movements of the seventeenth century, viz., that in behalf of the education of girls. François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651–1715) was born at the Château de Fénelon in Périgord of an old noble family. He received his early education under a tutor. After some time in the University of Cahors, which he

[1] *Conduct of the Understanding,* sect. 6.

entered at twelve, he went to the Collège du Plessis, Paris, and while there attended lectures on theology at the Sorbonne. An evidence of his early ability may be seen in the feat of preaching a successful sermon when fifteen years of age. He studied in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, then under the regency of M. Tronson, and was ordained a priest in 1675. At one time Fénelon felt called to missionary work in the far East or America. He joined the Sulpician community, and a few years after ordination was appointed director of the convent of New Catholics (Nouvelles-Catholiques), an institution which had been founded for the instruction and training of young women who were or contemplated becoming converts to the Catholic Church. This position called forth Fénelon's great powers as a preacher, instructor and defender of the Faith. Although he has often been accused of sanctioning the use of force in convert making, Protestant writers to-day admit that he resorted to persuasion rather than compulsion. "When hearts are to be moved," he wrote, "force avails not. Conviction is the only real conversion." This characterized his missionary work among the Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV, when compulsory measures were employed to stamp out heresy and restore religious unity.

While attached to the convent of New Catholics, Fénelon wrote his *Traité de l'Education des Filles*, *Treatise on the Education of Girls*, as a guide for the Duchess de Beauvilliers who had sought his advice on the upbringing of her children. It was given a practical trial in the household of the duchess and when her husband, the Duke de Beauvilliers, became governor of the grandchildren of Louis XIV, he obtained Fénelon as tutor of the eldest, the Duke of Burgundy. The boy, described as passionate,

self-willed, vindictive and even cruel by nature, became under Fénelon's tutelage an amiable, humane and conscientious prince. For his instruction were prepared Fénelon's *Fables, Dialogues des Morts, Dialogues of the Dead;* and *Aventures de Télémaque, Adventures of Telemachus,* the latter affording lessons in government and illustrating matters pertaining to the education of a prince.

In 1695 Fénelon succeeded to the archbishopric of Cambrai, then one of the most important in France. His interest in education did not cease. Madame de Maintenon, the morganatic wife of Louis XIV, herself a writer of educational treatises,[1] frequently consulted him in regard to the administration of her school for girls at Saint-Cyr.

The Education of Girls contains much on the training of children, especially on the period of infancy, applicable equally as well to boys as girls. Its general thesis is that the education of women is as necessary for the good of society as that of men. Weaker in body and in mind, "the weaker they are, the more important it is to strengthen them. Have they not duties to fulfil, and duties, too, that lie at the foundation of all human life? . . . Virtue, moreover, is no less incumbent on women than on men; and, not to speak of the good or harm they may do to mankind, women constitute half of the human race redeemed by the blood of Christ and destined to eternal life."[2]

Like the humanists of the Renaissance and his contemporary Locke in England, Fénelon began training with infancy, caring for the child's health by means of well-

[1] *Letters and Conversations on the Education of Girls. Counsels to Young Women who Enter Society.*

[2] *Education of Girls,* chap. I. Translation of Lupton. Boston, 1891.

chosen food and the regulations of a simple life. Believing in the plastic nature of the child's brain and the value of early impressions, some of his notable directions were: "Be content to form their character little by little as occasions naturally come up. You should content yourself with following and assisting nature. Children's curiosity is a natural bent that prepares the way for instruction: do not fail to avail yourself of it. You ought never to be annoyed by their questions; they are the openings offered you by Nature herself to facilitate instruction: show that you take pleasure in them."

Fénelon knew the value of imitation, the necessity of good models especially in conduct, and urged parents and teachers to use exemplars as means of indirect instruction. "Often you need only, without saying a word, to show them in another, what you wish them to do." (Chap. IV.) Good persons were to be made attractive to children, their amiable and advantageous traits pointed out, and "above all their piety which is the source of all the rest." First instruction, and in fact, everything exacted of the young, was to be agreeable and pleasant. He did not believe in the austerity of Locke. The teacher must early win the affection of the children and must deal compassionately with their weaknesses. "If confidence and persuasion are not powerful enough, authority will not fail to find its place." (Chap. V.) In short, he advocated a gentle and patient training.

On the intellectual side he would have few formal lessons for beginners: instruction could be largely given through cheerful conversation. The art of reading will be learned first in the vernacular; and that it may be a pleasant task the books should contain short stories beautifully illustrated. Experiencing pleasure in it the children

would learn to read quickly. All the tediousness of child life Fénelon thought was in study, all the enjoyment in amusements. "Let us then," he wrote, "try to change this arrangement; let us make study agreeable, let us conceal it under the guise of liberty and pleasure, let us allow children to break in upon their studies sometimes with brief sallies of amusement. They need these distractions to refresh their minds." (Chap. V.) He disapproved of overloading the memory, of burdensome regulations, and of threats and punishments for failures in study.

First among the notable elements in Fénelon's theory was the use of stories for children—the fables, but not heathen fables. "A girl will be fortunate," he says, "if she remains in ignorance of those all her life, for they are impure and full of impious absurdities." Scriptural stories form a basis and vehicle for religious instruction. Facts connected with the life of Christ should be presented as a concrete setting for instruction on the mysteries; the baptism of Christ, for example, might be described when telling children of the Trinity. Stories fill the imagination of childhood; in their recital are brought together the most pleasing and magnificent pictures, descriptive of the historical course of religion. "Every means should be employed to lead children to find religion beautiful, attractive, and impressive, instead of which they ordinarily conceive of it as something gloomy and melancholy." (Chap. VI.) The first use of reason is to be turned "gently towards God." "Follow at first the method of Scripture: appeal vividly to their imaginations; set nothing before them that is not clothed with striking imagery." Simple questions, comparisons, illustrations, observation by the children, all have their place in teaching the first principles

of religion, and the practices of the Church. In the chapters on religious instruction covering the decalogue, Sacraments and prayer both as to content and method, Christ is the central figure. Wholesome reflections on the faults characteristic of girls, on beauty and adornments, lead to Fénelon's famous treatment of the special duties of a woman.

"The learning of women, like that of men, should be confined to instruction connected with their duties; the difference in their employments should be the ground of the difference in their studies." Fénelon enumerates the duties of women as follows: the education of children, the boys up to a certain age, the girls until they are married or enter a convent; management of the household, regarding the conduct of servants, and expenditures. He maintains that these are not too limited occupations if the education of the young be faithfully discharged, and if management be really economical, for "there is a science of domestic service which is not insignificant." (Chap. XII.) Girls are to be assigned some household cares in order to develop in them a sense of responsibility, and give them the benefit of the mother's direction before they undertake the management of homes of their own.

Fénelon's general rule was to train girls according to their rank and station in life. He required them to learn reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, in so far as needed by a mother for the instruction of her children and management of the home; some of the principles of law referring to wills, contracts, etc., the duties of landowners; ancient history and that of their own country; music, art and embroidery. Other modern languages should only be studied for their utilitarian value.

"It is not fair to expect that a good education can be

conducted by a poor governess." Fénelon instructs on the choice and preparation of one for the office, suggesting the modern normal school idea for "religious and secular organizations that devote themselves, according to their regulations, to training girls." (Chap. XIII.)

Fénelon was far in advance of his day in his ideas for training girls; his book, which ranks first among French educational classics, is still widely read in the original and translations, and *Télémaque*, the *Fables* and *Dialogues* have not ceased to be popular as school texts. Fénelon like Montaigne and Locke was practical; like Comenius, a student and upholder of natural and psychological methods. Because of his attention to child psychology and especially to curiosity and interest, he may be regarded as the forerunner of Herbart.

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CHAPTER XXIV

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The **Oratorians** in France, founded by Cardinal de Bérulle in 1613, although not a teaching order, engaged extensively in educational work. They differed in organization from the Fathers of the Oratory founded at Rome by St. Philip Neri in 1575 in that all the houses of the congregation were directed by a common superior general, whereas in Italy they were independent.[1] Bound to no other vows than those of the priesthood, the Oratorians sought as their aim sacerdotal perfection. They conducted diocesan seminaries and were diligent in observing the regulations of the Council of Trent. Of their colleges Juilly, founded in 1638, was the most famous. The curriculum embodied some notable details in respect to, first, the vernacular, French, which was pursued until the fourth year, when Latin became obligatory; second, mathematics and the natural sciences, which received more attention than was usual in secondary schools; third, history, which embraced ancient and French history; fourth, geography, correlated with history, and for which mural maps were employed.

The management of the schools resembled that of the Jesuits in many respects, for example, in the mildness of the discipline; in allowing the same teacher to conduct the class throughout the course, and in having a course in

[1] The English Oratorians founded by Cardinal Newman in 1847 are substantially the same as the Roman.

philosophy, which, however, was not free, at times, from Cartesianism. After the suppression of the Jesuits the Oratorians succeeded them in the control of many schools.

Every large congregation has given the world its quota of learned and saintly members. Among the Oratorians arose **Louis Thomassin** (Thomassinus, 1619–1695), one of the most learned men of his time, author of works on theology, history, ecclesiastical antiquities and liturgy, who also treated of the methods of studying and teaching the humanities, philosophy, grammar and history.[1] **Bernard Lamy** (1640–1715), trained from boyhood by the Oratorians, a professor in the college of Vendôme and Juilly, and in his later years in Rouen, was the author of many Scriptural treatises, and also of a treatise on the sciences, *Entretiens sur les Sciences* (1683), which dispels any doubt of the interest of the Oratorians in the exact and natural sciences.

The **Port-Royalists,** so-called because of their chief establishment, Port Royal des Champs (Port Royal of the Fields) in the valley of Chevreuse, near Versailles, lasted as a religious organization only twenty-four years, from 1637 until 1661, when they were suppressed by King Louis XIV. Their schools were not really opened until 1646. In that short time, however, they devised an educational plan which was unique in many respects. Their influence did not cease with their suppression, but was continued by the writings and especially the treatises and text-books of their leaders.

The founder of the Port-Royalists, **Jean Duvergier de Hauranne** (1581-1643), abbé of Saint-Cyran, was a friend and supporter of Cornelis Jansen, Bishop of Ypres

[1] *La méthode d'étudier et d'enseigner chrétiennement et solidement les lettres humaines par rapport aux lettres divines et aux écritures.* Paris, 1681.

(Jansenius 1585–1638), whose work *Augustinus*, published in 1640, fell under the ban of the Church. Saint-Cyran, as the founder was commonly known, made Port-Royal the stronghold of Jansenism in France. To him the first "solitaires" owed their rigorism and the Little Schools, *petites écoles*, their inspiration. Although a lover of children and earnestly desirous of their salvation, he did not believe knowledge was good for all. "Sometimes," he said, "out of a hundred children not one ought to study." Nevertheless he designated child training as one of the important works of his followers. In keeping with his Jansenistic views he permitted only the docile children and those of good promise to enter the schools.

The classes in the Little Schools were small, five or six pupils being entrusted to a teacher who remained with them day and night. Gentleness characterized the discipline. The teacher was directed to bear with the children patiently; to pray God before correcting them, in order not to give way to ill temper; and to resort to corporal punishment only in the last extremity; in short "to speak little, bear much and pray still more." Rivalry and emulation were banished with the result, as Pascal admitted, that the boys became indifferent. The effort was constantly made to render study more enjoyable than play.

The curriculum embodied some real innovations. Like the Oratorians the Port-Royalists taught reading first in the vernacular, and they devised a system of phonics, in place of the alphabetical method. Their readers were translations of simple Latin works. When the students approached the study of Latin they already had some knowledge of the literature. They rendered Latin authors into French in order to avoid the word-study of the

classics then quite common. No definite provision was made for systematic physical training. Moral and religious formation remained their chief aim.

Some of the Port-Royal writers whose works were widely disseminated after the closing of the Little Schools may be here mentioned. **Antoine Arnauld** (1612–1694), brother of Mère Angélique who was a superioress of the Port-Royal Nuns, in his *Règlement des Etudes* (*Regulation of Studies*), which is often coupled with the *Traité des Etudes* of Rollin (1661–1741), Rector of the University of Paris, gave an exposition of Port-Royal methods for the study of literature. The *Port Royal Logic* is attributed to him, also the *New Elements of Geometry* in which he was assisted by **Nicole**; he directed **Lancelot** in the production of the *Grammaire Générale et Raisonée*, or *Port Royal Grammar*. The latter also wrote *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre facilement la langue Latine, New Method of Easily Learning the Latin Tongue* (1644); a similar method book for Greek (1655) and the *Jardin des racines grecques, Garden of Greek Roots* (1657), noteworthy for a criticism of Comenius' *Janua Linguarum*. "The book," he says, "is filled with all sorts of unusual and difficult words, and the first chapters are of no assistance for those that follow, nor these for the last, because there is no word in one which is found in the others. . . . The Entrance to languages ought to be a short and easy method to lead us as quickly as possible to the reading the best written books." Nicole wrote on the training of a prince, *Vues générales pour bien élever un prince*; **Coustel** drew up *Rules for the Education of Children*. Mother Agnes, sister of Arnauld, who wrote the *Constitutions of the Monastery of Port-Royal du Sacrament*, and Sister Sainte-Euphemie, Jacqueline Pascal, younger

sister of Pascal, who produced *The Regulations for Children*, show the application of the Port-Royal methods to the training of girls.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools owe their foundation to St. John Baptist de la Salle (1651–1719), a doctor of theology and priest of the diocese of Rheims, France. From the time of his ordination in 1678 he showed a deep interest in the welfare of the poor teachers of Rheims. His educational work dates from 1679, when Madame Maillefer sought his assistance in the establishment of a free school, which she intended to endow. De la Salle generously responded and with a lay teacher to aid him, Adrian Nyel, opened the school. This undertaking drew him into another of a similar nature made possible by the generosity of Madame de Croyères. Through these engagements and his abiding love for the poor, Saint de la Salle came to know intimately the condition and needs of the struggling teachers. His sympathy prompted him to render them financial help, provide them with dwellings, and eventually to receive them into his household. From being merely their adviser and patron, he soon became through a growing attachment to them their spiritual father and superior.

In 1683 Saint de la Salle resigned his office as canon of the cathedral of Rheims, sold his patrimony, and distributed his fortune gradually and judiciously to the poor. He was then actually the superior of the teachers, although no permanent organization had been reached, and he intended to devote himself entirely to their welfare. Freed from all worldly attachments by voluntary poverty, he directed the humble community at home and in its spread to neighboring cities. At a retreat which he called in 1684 the elements of the rule were agreed upon, also the

vows, and the distinctive garb to be worn by the Brothers. The vows were not then perpetual; they bound the Brothers to obedience for one year, and so they remained until 1694 when perpetual vows of obedience and stability in the Institute were required. When approved by the Holy See (1725) the vows included chastity, poverty, obedience, stability in the Institute and gratuitous teaching of the poor.

More than once during the first ten years the community struggled for its very existence, deaths and defections often depleting the ranks. In the meantime, however, de la Salle had inaugurated at Rheims two important institutions, viz., the novitiate, for training the members of the Institute, and the normal school (teachers' seminary) for training lay teachers for the country schools. The latter, the first normal school in history, originated to meet a peculiar demand. Pastors in the villages had been begging Saint de la Salle for teachers, but as their schools were small and they usually wanted only one teacher, he was unable to send them. The rule of the Institute forbade the sending of a single brother to any school. The priests then sent young laymen from their parishes to be trained for the work by the Brothers. They lived apart from the Brothers, and received their education and support gratuitously. De la Salle thus successfully launched the first normal school for primary teachers, an institution which was destined to be officially adopted a century later by France, and is now everywhere regarded as a necessary element in an educational system.

Saint de la Salle personally opened the first schools of his Institute in Paris in 1688. Despite the opposition of the writing masters, primary teachers, and certain clerics.

he successfully maintained his first foundation among the poor of the large parish of Saint Sulpice. While the primary schools were the first objects of his devotion, de la Salle stood ready to offer his brothers for any educational service they could render. So in 1698 he opened his first boarding school at the request of the archbishop of Paris to educate the sons of the Catholic lords who accompanied the exiled James II to France. Most of these boys were Irish, and their state in life demanded more advanced instruction than that of the elementary school. In Paris was also begun the work of reforming the wayward (1705), industrial training, and the Sunday School (1698). The latter was for young working men under twenty years of age, and offered instruction in religion, also in reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry and drawing. Its sessions lasted two hours, but the young men were also provided with wholesome recreation in Catholic surroundings.

With the extension of the activities of the Institute came persecution from civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and to the Founder innumerable personal trials. In 1702, through a series of misrepresentations and calumnies, he was deposed by Cardinal de Noailles but shortly afterward restored to power if not to office. The general chapter of 1717 gave the Institute permanent organization. De la Salle counselled the Brothers to elect his successor as superior general and to his great satisfaction the choice fell upon Brother Barthélemy. He desired that the Brothers, who by their Constitution were forbidden to become priests, should be governed by a member of the community. The Saint did not live to see his Institute approved by the Holy See. The bull of Benedict XIII, *In Apostolicae Dignitatis Solio*, constituting the community a religious congregation, appeared January 26, 1725, six

years after his death (1719). He was canonized a Saint by Pope Leo XIII, May 24, 1900. At the time of his death the Brothers numbered 274; their houses, 27; and their pupils 9,885; at the French Revolution when they were suppressed, the Institute included 920 Brothers in 125 houses, and educating 36,000 pupils.

The claims of Saint de la Salle as an educator rest securely on the movement which he directed for the organization and improvement of free elementary instruction, first, through the establishment of a teaching congregation which has become worldwide in its operations; second through the normal school; and, third, through the application of the simultaneous method to teaching and conducting classes.

In the elementary school, the special field of the Brothers, the vernacular alone was used, and that education given in reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion which was needed by poor children. In contrast to the poorly managed and noisy primary schools of the time, theirs were orderly and quiet, the pupils worked in silence, broken only by the recitations, prayers, and gentle voice of the teacher. The simultaneous method assured grading of the children in classes and methodical work. The pupils were divided into groups according to their capabilities, those of about the same order receiving their instruction together. "The pupils follow in the same lesson; they observe strict silence; the master, in correcting one, is correcting all: here is the essence of the simultaneous method." [1] De la Salle composed his *Management of Christian Schools, Conduite des écoles chrétiennes*, published after his death, to explain all the details of this method. "Later works on the same subject," wrote

[1] Brother Azarias, *Essays Educational*, 231. New York, 1905.

Matthew Arnold, "have little improved the precepts, while they entirely lack the unction."[1] The teacher in consequence had both the matter and method of his teaching indicated. Industry and neatness in the pupils' work were demanded. Especial care was shown for penmanship.

All school work proceeded in a spirit of prayer. At stated times in study and class periods a student broke the silence to recall the presence of God. In addition to regular instruction from the catechism the rules required training in religious exercises, attendance at Mass, reception of the Sacraments and the practice of a devout life. Saint de la Salle composed in the form of readers *The Duties of a Christian* and *The Rules of Politeness*, which contain instruction on the truths of faith and on polite behavior. His directions, in short, covered the entire field of the teachers' work—recitation, study, recreation; they regulated method and management even to the extent of prescribing minutely when and how punishments should be inflicted. It is true that the details seem excessive and calculated to prevent all initiative on the part of the teachers. They would be excessive for teachers to-day, but in de la Salle's time when lack of order and method prevailed in the elementary schools, special details of method and procedure were necessary if definite results were to be obtained.

The simultaneous method, which de la Salle placed on a working basis, was a distinct contribution to the art of teaching and management. For many elements of this method he was indebted to his predecessors. Saint **Peter Fourier** (1565–1640), founder of the Congregation of Notre Dame, had expressed it in the *Constitutions* of his

[1] *The Popular Education of France*, 15. London, 1861.

Congregation; Comenius (1592–1671) touched upon it in the *Great Didactic*;[1] Bishop de Nesmond of Bayeux (1629–1715) in his *Plan of Instruction and Education for Primary Schools* assigned to the same bench children of the same capacity occupied with the same subject; Father Charles Demia (†1689), founder of the Brethren of St. Charles, expressed similar ideas in his *Rules for the Schools of the City and Diocese of Rouen*. De la Salle, however, reduced to a workable and practical method, "what Blessed Peter Fourier touched, what Komensky (Comenius) and Mgr. de Nesmond, and Charles Demia had glimmerings of"[2]—a method which has been at the basis of primary school procedure ever since.

Another contribution, and according to many a greater one than the preceding, was the normal school for teachers. The novitiates of religious communities, and obviously those of teaching orders, had been training schools of teachers, but nowhere had schools for training laymen been in operation, although, as already noted, Mulcaster had advocated them in England. When M. de Chennevières, a priest, petitioned Louis XIV for them in France (1686), de la Salle's Seminary for Schoolmasters was already in existence. In 1699 he opened one in Paris; and although his schools did not long survive him they were the models in curriculum after which the primary normal schools of France were formed in 1861. Before de la Salle's death (1719) the institution had been adopted in Brussels by Des Roches (1687) and in Halle through the efforts of Francke. Of its spread into Austria something will be noted later.[3]

[1] Col. 103. Azarias, *Essays Educational*, 219. New York, 1905.
[2] Azarias, *ibid.*, 230.
[3] Cf. page 322.

Other Catholic religious congregations of men and women founded in the seventeenth century and devoted to education may be briefly noted here. The **Vincentians or Lazarists,** properly called the **Congregation of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul,** were founded at Paris in 1625 by St. Vincent de Paul, for the purpose of conducting missions and charitable works, including education. **The Sulpicians, Society of Saint Sulpice,** founded at Paris in 1642 by Jean Jacques Olier, a priest, for the training of teachers and directors of ecclesiastical seminaries, grew into a numerous and potent community. At the time of the suppression of religious orders in France (1900) they controlled there twenty-six large diocesan and provincial seminaries. They came as missionaries to Canada in 1657.

The communities of women founded in this century were more numerous than those of men and especially in France. **The Sisters of Notre Dame,** now a large teaching body in the Church, were founded by St. Peter Fourier in 1598 for the education of poor girls. They were introduced into America in 1657 with some modifications by Marguerite Bourgeoys, who is venerated as the founder of the **Congregation of Notre Dame of Montreal. The School Sisters of Notre Dame,** a branch of the congregation founded by St. Peter Fourier, controlled in the seventeenth century many convent schools in Germany. The **English Ladies,** founded 1609, in France, by Mary Ward, and suppressed by the Church in 1630, were succeeded as a religious body by the **Institute of Mary,** established at Munich, Bavaria, for the maintenance of convent schools and the care of orphans. In 1669 they opened a house at Hammersmith, London, and at the close of the century their institutions flourished in Bavaria,

Italy, France, and England. The **Visitation Nuns, Visitandines,** founded 1610, in France, by St. Jane Frances de Chantal and St. Francis de Sales, undertook among their earliest works the education of girls. **The Presentation Sisters,** or **Daughters of the Presentation,** as they were first called, founded 1627 by Nicholas Sanguin, Bishop of Senlis, France, for the education of poor girls, did not survive the French Revolution. The **Sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin** appeared in 1684, a foundation of the Venerable Marie Poussepin, at Sainville, France, for the work of teaching and care of the sick. **The Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul,** founded 1633, in Paris, by St. Vincent de Paul, for charitable works, engaged in instructing the poor. The **Sisters of St. Joseph,** founded 1650 at Le Puy, France, by Jean Paul Medaille, a Jesuit, like the **Sisters of Mercy of St. Charles Borromeo** (Borromean Sisters), were the forerunners of large associations bearing the same name and identified with Catholic schools in many countries.

August Herman Francke (1663–1727), the representative of the **Pietists** in education, studied in preparation for the ministry at the universities of Erfurt, Kiel and Leipzig. He taught at Leipzig after receiving the master's degree (1685). The Bible club which he there organized attracted the attention of Spener, Court preacher at Dresden and leader of the Pietistic movement. In 1687 Francke was located at Hamburg. It was there he opened the elementary school which formed the basis of his later educational activities. Again a professor at Leipzig in 1689, his unorthodox views on the Scriptures brought him into conflict with the conservative professors, and he was forced to leave. He received more drastic treatment from the Protestant clergy in Erfurt where he had accepted a

pastorate; they drove him from the city. He then became professor of Greek and Oriental languages at the newly founded University of Halle, through the influence of Spener, holding at the same time the pastorate of Glaucha, a suburb of Halle. There he remained for the rest of his life, thirty-five years, zealously organizing the famous institutions which have survived to the present time as the Francke Foundations (Franckesche Stiftungen).

Francke began his educational work by opening a poor or charity school in his own house and employing a needy university student as teacher. Before long some citizens of Halle asked admission for their children and Francke was obliged to furnish new school rooms with divisions for these two classes of pupils. He accepted a fee from those who could afford it. From funds supplied by a friend he also established an orphan school in which the children were boarded. In the same year, 1695, three children of noble family were placed under his care to be educated. This formed the beginning of the Paedagogium, or Boarding School. In 1698 his institutions had so flourished that there were one hundred orphans and five hundred other children receiving instruction in them. Generous benefactors then came forward to assist him with funds, and colaborers rallied to his support. The printing press of the orphanage and the apothecary proved sources of revenue. In 1705 his establishment included eight school classes, with eight hundred scholars, among whom were one hundred and twenty-five orphans, and sixty-seven teachers; the Paedagogium, with seventy scholars and seventeen teachers; a seminary for teachers, supporting seventy-five persons gratuitously; a Widows' House; and Oriental college. The boarding school for girls, opened in 1698, was closed in that year (1705). At the time of

his death there was furthermore a Latin school for the children of the city and the brighter boys of the orphanage. The elementary school of the orphans was then distinct from the burghers' school, or that attended by children of the city. Buildings had been erected through the gifts of benefactors and the earnings of the establishment which then included a printing press, bookstore and paper mill. There were over seventeen hundred children, boys and girls, in the elementary schools, four hundred in the Latin school and two hundred and fifty boarded at a free table.

Francke's religious and practical aim in education can be seen in these foundations and in his writings. Always deeply religious as the Pietist, he strove both to train children to virtue and to prepare them for their callings in life. The religious purpose is exposed in his *Short and Simple Instruction for Leading Children to True Piety and Christian Wisdom*,[1] in which he treats of the method of religious instruction; his real or practical purpose may be seen in his *Organization and Teaching Method in the Orphan Schools*[2] and his *Directions for Inspectors of Schools*.[3]

In his own time and afterward Francke's institutions wielded a great influence in Germany, in regard to, first, the education and care of orphans; second, the training of teachers, for his training school was reproduced in most of the Protestant states, and third, the emphasis of the practical or real subjects in elementary and secondary education. In the Burgher school the vernacular alone was used and practical instruction given in arithmetic, geography and the useful arts; in the secondary, German,

[1] *Kurzer und einfältiger Unterricht wie die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit und Christlichen Klugheit anzufuhren sind.* (1702.)

[2] *Ordnung und Lehrart der Waisenhaus-Schulen.*

[3] *Instruction des Inspectoris Scholarum.*

French, and mathematics were offered as well as the classics; his colleague Semler opened in association with him the first Realschule, or secondary non-classical school, and his disciple Hecker inaugurated this institution in Berlin.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Naturalism and Education

The Eighteenth Century, like its predecessor, brought with it another series of reactions. The empiricism of Locke became a materialistic rationalism and skepticism with the Encyclopedists in France. Reason enthroned, and empowered to explain all things, promised a universal "Enlightenment;" the Illuminati, however, remained few in number, and their chief delight was found in attacking prevalent systems of thought and government, the Church and all revealed religion, and the groundwork of morality. In Voltaire appeared the representative of the revolt as it was confined to the educated classes; in Rousseau, the champion and voice as it extended to the masses of the people and prepared the way for the terrible upheaval of the Revolution.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) was the son of a watchmaker of Geneva, Switzerland. Having lost his mother in infancy, his upbringing by his father and an indulgent aunt was most irregular. He contracted many vicious habits in his boyhood. Although he acquired a taste for reading and read extensively with his father, his mental discipline was as desultory as his moral. He spent two years in the care of a clergyman at Bossey, near Geneva, with little improvement in his moral make-up. He did acquire a greater love for the beauties of nature. A punishment, however, inflicted for one of his offenses

made him morbid and dejected. As an apprentice to an attorney and later to an engraver he was unable to succeed; one discharged him for negligence, the other he left because of harsh treatment. He then ran away from home, beginning the wandering and vagabond existence which he followed for almost the rest of his life. At Borney, France, he found a friend in the Catholic bishop, who out of pity tried to provide some systematic training for him at the hands of Madame de Warens, a recent convert. She sent him to Turin where he embraced the Catholic faith. He did not remain long there, but after some years of wandering he returned to accept again the hospitality of his benefactress. She obtained appointments for him, in all of which Rousseau demonstrated a consistently unstable and unreliable character. In 1741 he appeared in Paris supporting himself by copying music and occasional employments. He attracted notice in literary circles by his extreme views and the boldness of his style. As secretary of the French Embassy at Venice he continued to lead the same immoral life as formerly. After two years he had quarreled with his superior officers and lost his position. In Paris again, he took up his abode with an ignorant girl, Thérèse Levasseur, with whom he lived for twenty years before marrying her. Five children were born of their illicit union, all of whom the father placed in the foundling asylum.

Association with Diderot, D'Alembert and the Encyclopedists brought Rousseau into some connection with the literary lights of Paris. When he won the literary prize offered by the Academy of Dijon for the best essay on "Whether the progress of the arts and sciences has tended to the purification of manners and morals," he found himself eminent. Rousseau had taken the negative side

and produced an essay as brilliant as it was daring. He also wrote on music, attracting attention for daring theories and views. Some of his articles appeared in the Encyclopedia.[1]

During a visit to Geneva Rousseau renounced the Catholic belief and returned to Protestantism. It is noteworthy that his *Social Contract* (*Contrat Social*), voicing his views on social equality, was burned both in Paris and Geneva. In 1762 he produced his famous educational work *Emile, or Concerning Education*, which was condemned by the archbishop of Paris and publicly burned. In it Naturalism in education found its great exponent. Because of the influence of the work on modern education through Basedow and Pestalozzi in Germany and Spencer in England its chief views will be here summarized.

Written in answer to the inquires of Madame de Chenonceaux, *Emile* is an educational romance. It does not attempt to describe a system of education but to trace nature's course of development. Its ideas would not generally be practicable to-day, but at almost every page Rousseau suggests a newer study of child nature and touches upon principles which are now at the basis of educational methods. Despite its falsities, sophistries, oddities and theories long outlived, *Emile* is in part at least worthy of study. In its five books, Rousseau treats first of the training of early infancy, or education of Emile to the age of five, when he has learned to talk; second, his childhood from the age of five to twelve; third, his boyhood, from twelve to fifteen; fourth, adolescence, from fifteen to twenty when he is ready for marriage, and fifth,

[1] *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raissonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers.* Paris, 1751–80.

of Sophie, his wife and her education. "Emile, . . . is humanity personified, in the natural condition of childhood; a tutor teaches this child of nature naturally."[1]

Rousseau in the beginning states some general principles of his naturalistic theory. "Everything is good as it comes from the hands of the Author of Nature; but everything degenerates in the hands of man. . . . We are born weak; we have need of strength: we are born destitute of everything; we have need of assistance: we are born stupid; we have need of judgment. All that we have not at birth, but which we need when we are grown, is given us by education."[2]

Education is derived from three sources, namely, from nature, from men, and from things. "The internal development of our faculties and organs is the education of nature; the use which we learn to make of this development is the education of men; while the acquisition of personal experience from the objects that affect us is the education of things." These sources Rousseau makes teachers. "The pupil in whom their different lessons are at variance is badly educated, and will never be in harmony with himself; while he in whom they all agree, in whom they all tend to the same end—he alone moves toward his destiny and consistently lives; he alone is well educated." Since the education of nature is independent of man the other two must be directed towards it. The natural man is complete in himself, the numerical unit, the absolute whole, who is related only to himself or to his fellow-man, whereas civilized man is but a fractional unit that is dependent on its denominator, and whose value

[1] Barnard, *Jean Jacques Rousseau* in Barnard's Journal of Education, v, 469.

[2] Cf. Payne, *Rousseau's Emile*, Bk. 1. New York, 1906.

consists in its relation to the whole, which is the social organization. "Good social organizations are those which are the best able to make man unnatural, and to take from him his absolute existence in order to give him one which is relative, and to transport the *one* into the common unity. . . ." There is consequently a conflict between the individual and the social purpose in education.

In the first period, that of infancy, Emile's educaton is chiefly physical. The mother is teacher and the rule given here is "Observe nature, and follow the route which she traces for you. She is ever exciting children to activity; she hardens the constitution by trials of every sort; she teaches them at an early hour what suffering and pain are." The growing body is not to be restrained in any way. Without overtaxing its strength it is to be hardened to seasons and climates; hunger, thirst, and fatigue. "As the real nurse is the mother, the real preceptor is the father. . . . He will be better educated by a judicious though ignorant father, than by the most skilful teacher in the world." The child must be healthy, for Rousseau said, "I would not assume charge of a sickly and debilitated child, were he to live eighty years." He should have a vigorous body, acquired in the open-air of the country and by frequent bathing. He knows no fear, speaks in simple but correct language.

From five to twelve Emile's education is almost entirely a negative one which does not consist in "teaching virtue or truth, but in shielding the heart from vice, and the mind from error. If you could do nothing and allow nothing to be done; if you could bring your pupil sound and robust to the age of twelve years without his being able to distinguish his right hand from his left—from your very first lesson the eyes of his understanding would be

open to reason. Without prejudice and without habit, he would have nothing in him which could counteract the effect of your efforts. . . . Do the opposite of what is usual, and you will almost always do right."

The only moral training at this time proper for children is a preventive. The opportunities for wrong-doing are to be forestalled. Rousseau does not believe in original sin; children, he says, have no original depravity. They become bad when the seeds of evil have been sown by others in their hearts.

They learn much now through things, not books, for instance, simple facts of geography, and the method is that of observation. Reading can wait until the eleventh or twelfth year. Emile in his twelfth year must scarcely know what a book is. Physical exercise continues during this period and the training is chiefly that of the senses through systematic observation and experience.

In the third period, from the age of twelve to fifteen, Emile has a natural curiosity and eagerness to learn. Objects and ideas, not words, are his teachers. He must learn everything himself by his own reason or experience and not upon the authority of others. He discovers his powers. Geography he studies in his immediate neighborhood; he makes simple beginnings of the natural sciences. He learns only the useful and understands the usefulness of his knowledge to his present well-being. Rousseau prescribes only one book for Emile's reading; *Robinson Crusoe* should constitute his whole library, for this book alone truly depicts a situation where all the natural needs of man are exhibited, and where the means of providing for these needs are successively developed. Emile must also learn a trade, that of carpenter, for example, to be

independent of changes in fortune. He will then think better of workmen.

From fifteen to twenty Emile is conducted through the period when selfishness changes to self-esteem as he comes into contact with men. He now learns history, an aid to his great study, men. He is taught no religion, but Rousseau will have him put in a condition to be able to choose one for himself. Finally, in the fifth book Emile is given a wife, Sophie. Her training has been ordered to fit her for companionship with Emile. It represents the education of Rousseau's ideal woman and is purely relative to that of man. Woman, he believed, was constituted to please man.

Emile was condemned by the Archbishop of Paris "as containing an abominable doctrine, calculated to overthrow natural law, and to destroy the foundations of the Christian religion; establishing maxims contrary to Gospel morality; having a tendency to disturb the peace of empires, to stir up subjects to revolt against their sovereign; as containing a great number of propositions respectively false, scandalous, full of hatred towards the Church and her ministers, lessening respect due to Holy Scripture and the tradition of the Church, erroneous, impious, blasphemous, and heretical."[1] As noted above, the book was also condemned by the Protestants of Geneva. Purely naturalistic and therefore unacceptable to Christians, it abounds in contradictions and sophistries. Pedagogically, it is defective in purpose, having only temporal existence in view; it is one-sided, accepting only the utilitarian, and neglecting the aesthetic, cultural and

[1] Cf. *Jean Jaques Rousseau à Christophe de Beaumont,* xxxv. Amsterdam, 1763. (Contains the condemnation of the Archbishop.)

moral. Among so much error there was nevertheless some truth. Rousseau, like Comenius, called attention to the study of the child, his natural abilities, and tastes, and the necessity of accommodating instruction and training to him; and of awaiting natural development. His criticism served many useful purposes and in spite of his chicanery and paradoxes many of his views were successfully applied by Basedow, Pestalozzi and other modern educators.

Rousseau's educational influence was first felt outside of his own country. **Johann Bernard Basedow** (1723–90), a representative of the German "Enlightenment," applied many of the naturalist's theories in his **Philanthropinum.** Born in Hamburg, the son of a wigmaker, Basedow's youth was, like Rousseau's, a stormy one. He ran away from home because of his father's severity towards him, returning upon the latter's entreaties. As a student he wrote many poems, and supported himself at times by their sale. He studied theology at Leipzig, intending to enter the Lutheran ministry. Instead he became a tutor to a noble family in Holstein. With these children Basedow attempted to use newer methods of teaching, following the principles of Locke and Comenius. The theological writings he produced as professor of ethics at the Danish Academy of Soroe, and also while teaching in the gymnasium of Altona, were roundly attacked as heretical and rationalistic by the Protestant clergy. He suffered greatly as a result. Through reading *Emile* he resolved to devote himself to educational reform. In 1768 by his *Address upon Schools, Studies, and Their Influence upon the Public Weal,* he sought the aid of the benevolent and rich for the publication of an elaborate elementary work, the first step in his reform. Before it appeared (1774)

Basedow wrote his *Book of Methods* (*Methodenbuch*) for parents and teachers.[1]

The *Elementary Book* (*Elementarwerk*) consisting of four volumes was a kind of encyclopedia for the young. Accompanying it was a book of one hundred plates illustrating the subjects treated. It aspired to be an interesting reading book and aimed to give the child a knowledge of words and things, of nature, of natural religion, of social duties, of commerce, etc. It was in the form of a dialogue and its plan resembled the *Orbis Pictus* of Comenius. It was intended, in short, to contain all the young should learn, but Basedow soon realized he had outlined too much and afterward revised it.

In 1774, the year the *Elementary Book* appeared, Basedow inaugurated at Dessau, through the generosity of many patrons and especially of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, the institution in which his reforms were carried out, the Philanthropinum. His aim was to give a general or cosmopolitan education, one suitable to youth of any country. The wealthy were required to pay a fee and were designated especially for this training; the poor were prepared for teaching. Supposedly non-sectarian and encouraging the child to follow the belief of its parents, the Philanthropinum actually gave instruction in a natural and rationalistic religion. Among its characteristics may be noted a careful physical training through daily exercise and simplicity in dress and living; a utilitarian standard in determining the choice of studies; a system of rewards; insistence on obedience to rules; instruction in regard to sexual relations.

All students, wealthy and poor, were taught handiwork

[1] *Methodenbuch für Väter und Mütter der Familien und Völker* (*Book of Methods for the Fathers and Mothers of Families and Nations*).

or a trade. Part of their recreation was spent at manual work. Much of the study too was done at play. Latin received more attention than Rousseau would favor, German and French were also studied. The method of learning a language through conversation, drawing and games, and practical instruction in geography, mathematics and nature study were commendable and would have been approved by Rousseau. He would not have sanctioned the compulsory obedience, the rewards or the prominence given to Latin.

The institution promised great results but Basedow lacked administrative ability. He quarreled with the teachers and eventually failed in raising the necessary funds. He resigned in 1776 and tried many callings until his death in 1790. The institution lasted only until 1793. **Joachim Heinrich Campe** (1746–1818), his successor, wrote on education, but is best known for his *Robinson Crusoe Junior* (*Robinson der Jüngere*). He established a Philanthropinum at Hamburg. **Christian Gotthilf Salzmann** (1744–1811), once a teacher at the Dessau Philanthropinum, established another at Schnefenthal which has survived to the present time. Similar institutions were opened in many parts of Germany and had a favorable influence on industrial, agricultural and primary education.

Religious Influences of the Eighteenth Century

During this century there arose in both Protestant and Catholic circles vigorous religious influences to counteract the current naturalism in education. Although the Pietists had fallen into a formalism which threatened the existence of their foundations in the first half of the century, they were saved from extinction by the reforms

of the great-grandson of Francke, **August Hermann Niemeyer** (1754–1828). Among the Protestants, however, were to be found many followers of Basedow and their opposition to rationalism and naturalism was not as potent nor as consistent as that presented by the Catholics. The Church then produced some statesmen and leaders whose influence educationally extended far beyond their own respective domains. Foremost among the Catholic reformers of Germany should rank **Franz von Fürstenberg** (1729–1810), vicar-general and minister of education of the diocese of Münster, whose school ordinances gave new life to the whole educational system over which he was placed. He began with the reform of the gymnasium, introducing more modern subjects and giving greater prominence to German, the natural sciences and mathematics. He also improved facilities for the education of the clergy, and it was through his efforts that the University of Münster really started on its career. The normal school founded by him and over which he placed the well-known educator and priest Bernard Overberg, became the model of other training schools in Catholic centers.[1]

To the Augustinian abbot, **Johann Ignaz von Felbiger** (1724–1788), was due the reform of educational conditions in Silesia and Austria. As abbot of Sagan in Silesia, Felbiger became interested in the schools near his monastery. He realized that their deplorable condition was due chiefly to the unskilled and untrained teachers in charge. Encouraged by the government of Silesia he issued a series of ordinances, but he accomplished his best results

[1] Esch, J. *Franz von Fürstenberg, sein Leben und seine Schriften.* Freiburg, 1891.

when, after a visit to Berlin and an inspection of the schools of the Pietists Hähn and Hecker, he introduced their newer methods and system of training teachers in his own country. He adopted the tabular and alphabetical methods devised by Hähn, opened a college or training school for teachers, and published many text-books, notably a new catechism. He attracted wide attention by the success of his plans.

The Empress Maria Teresa called Felbiger to Austria in 1774 to become the general minister of education for all the German schools of her domains. His first work was to draw up an ordinance designating elementary schools for all cities and villages, and secondary schools or gymnasien for the cities. In the latter besides Latin and German, history, geography, higher mathematics, and even surveying were offered. In every province he opened a normal school which was actually a combination of real gymnasium and training school for teachers. The plan also included girls' schools providing instruction in the domestic arts.

Felbiger's methods of organization and his text-books were adopted in many parts of Germany and even in St. Petersburg. He had created wide enthusiasm, even excitement over his work, and withal considerable jealousy. Joseph II, who did not espouse his cause, removed him from Vienna and limited his educational field to Hungary. Before he withdrew from Austria, however, Felbiger's influence had called into existence or shaped anew 3,933 schools.[1] The great abbot deserves to rank high as an educational organizer and administrator. Frederick the Great recognized his ability by requesting him in 1765 to

[1] Krieg, *Lehrbuch der Pädagogik*, 221. Paderborn, 1905.

draw up the Ordinances for Catholic schools in Silesia and the county of Glatz. Although he wrote much on education, he contributed little to pedagogical science. The tabular method, or use of tables presenting subjects in their various divisions which could be displayed in the classrooms, was a help in maintaining discipline; and the alphabetical method, or use of initials for recalling words, assisted in training memory and was a stimulus to curiosity and interest. As teaching devices both were, however, too mechanical to be of permanent utility. They promised more than they really accomplished. Felbiger's writings for teachers, particularly the *Method Book*[1] sanctioned the class method especially in recitations, encouraged the practice of questioning, and, in short, produced a definite grade or uniformity in the methods of the great number of teachers who were prepared in his schools.

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

That the Naturalism of Rousseau had a real effect on the Psychological movement of the nineteenth century will be seen from a study of the first phase of that movement, Pestalozzianism. Education according to nature will become education by development. The general direction of the movement will be seen in Pestalozzi, the scientific formulation of its principles in Herbart and the application to the early training of the child in Froebel. Father Rosmini and Jacotot represent the aims, and, in a measure, the achievements of the century in the field of methods. The Italian priest because of the philosophical basis of his work deserves to rank with Herbart and Froebel as the expounder of many of the principles on which modern elementary education rests. Herbert Spencer may finally be taken as the vigorous champion of the scientific studies.

The Psychologists

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), an educator whose field of influence was world-wide, displayed in boyhood and youth many of the characteristics which marked him as the mature man. He was born at Zurich, Switzerland, the son of a physician. Deprived of his father at the age of five, he was reared by his mother and a devoted maid-servant, Babeli, who had promised Pestalozzi's father on his death-bed that she would not desert his

wife and little family. Although poor, Pestalozzi's mother had resolved to provide a good education for her children. Johann, the eldest son, was kept much indoors under her care and deprived of contact with other boys. When he entered the public school he was puny and delicate, shy and awkward. He showed no talents and was dubbed by his companions "Harry Oddity of Foolborough.[1] His unselfishness, however, gained their good will.

From his tenth year Pestalozzi spent part of his vacations with his grandfather, then pastor of Höngg, a village near Zurich. There he learned to love nature and to sympathize with the lot of the peasants. He accompanied his grandfather on his visits to the poor, and perhaps in this way first conceived the desire to enter the ministry. After completing his secondary studies he pursued theology. One attempt at preaching convinced him of his unfitness for a clerical calling, and believing that he could still ameliorate the condition of the poor he turned to law. As a student he associated with the Swiss reform party, became an active member of the Helvetian Society, and contributed to their journal the *Memorial* (*Der Erinnerer*) which was suppressed because of its criticism of the government. Pestalozzi and other writers were more than once imprisoned for their views. During these student years the reading of *Emile* and the *Social Contract* had made him an ardent disciple of Rousseau and had given him a hatred of civilization and cities. Realizing after one of the elections that he could not raise the condition of the peasants through his services as a lawyer, and being advised by his physician to live in the country, Pestalozzi became a farmer.

[1]De Guimps, Roger. *Pestalozzi, His Life and Works.* Trans. by J. Russell. New York, 1902.

In 1769 he married Anna Schulthess whom he had known from his childhood in Zurich, and that same year began his experiments in farming at Neuhof (New Farm), near Birr in the canton of Aarhau. He had been studying farming methods for a year with the result that he became an agricultural visionary. He tried vegetable and madder raising. After five years his venture proved a failure. A son had in the meantime been born to him, and it was in this child's early training conducted by Pestalozzi himself that the great educator first began the work which shortly afterward he adopted as the means for elevating the peasant and poor classes. Basing his methods on Rousseau's theory he soon modified the naturalist's principles by his own observations and experience. The journal kept by Pestalozzi of his child's progress, *A Father's Journal*, shows the gradual development of the principle which he later formulated as the essence of his educational method. Gratified by his child's progress Pestalozzi was inspired to resume his efforts in behalf of the peasants but this time through their education. The kind of training which he considered proper for their regeneration may be seen in the school he opened at Neuhof.

In 1774, the farm project having failed, Pestalozzi received into his house twenty-five poor children. He took up cotton-spinning as a means of livelihood and put the children to light tasks in this industry and in the field. Had it not been for a public appeal for support Pestalozzi's latest enterprise would soon have failed. Donations enabled him to increase the number of children so that at one time it reached eighty. The children improved physically under his care and enjoyed their instruction which was given in connection with their work and

chiefly by conversation. Pestalozzi would not teach the child to read until he knew how to talk. He conversed constantly on subjects connected with every-day life and made them repeat passages from the Bible until they knew them by heart.[1] At the proper time he would teach them reading, writing and simple arithmetic. The boys learned farming, the girls sewing and household arts, and all cotton-spinning. There were 21 girls and 16 boys in the house in 1778 according to Pestalozzi's account for the year. He was then assisted in managing the establishment by a Fräulein Spindler of Strassburg; a master to teach weaving and two skilled weavers; a mistress to teach spinning and two spinners; a man to assist the weavers and teach reading; two men and two women who were employed on the land.[2] In 1780 failure came; the children were sent away and the school closed, owing to Pestalozzi's lack of administrative ability.

Pestalozzi was able to keep his house, but years of poverty were in store for him. Encouraged by Iselin, in whose paper, *Ephemeriaes*, Pestalozzi's appeals had been published, he wrote the *Evening Hour of a Hermit*, a collection of aphorisms on the raising of a people by education which attracted little attention. Pestalozzi was not discouraged. In suffering he believed he came to know better than ever before the miseries of the poor. He supported himself by writing. In 1781 he wrote *Leonard and Gertrude, A Book for the People*, a story of Swiss peasant life which was immediately popular and has since become an educational classic. Without appearing to teach, the author found a pleasant and simple way of placing his educational ideas before the world. The

[1] De Guimps, 54.
[2] Account of 1778. Cf. De Guimps, 62.

lesson of the story was not generally understood and Pestalozzi wrote continuations of it in 1783, 1785 and 1787, none of which was as well received as the first part. *Christopher and Eliza* (1782), a second book for the people, was intended to point out the lessons of *Leonard and Gertrude.* During this period of great literary productivity, Pestalozzi published the *Swiss Journal,* a weekly paper which lasted only one year. Nothing then appeared from his pen until 1797 when he wrote, at the suggestion of Fichte, the obscure work entitled: *An Inquiry into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race.*

In 1798 when the city of Stanz was taken by the French, Pestalozzi, who sympathized with the new government, was asked to take charge of the children made destitute by the war. A confiscated Ursuline convent was turned over to him. He had no assistants except a woman-servant. Forty children were at first taken in and indescribable confusion prevailed. All were housed at first in one room, and Pestalozzi was nurse as well as teacher for many of them. The number increased eventually to eighty. The people being Catholics were distrustful of the new government and of the teacher, a Protestant.

Pestalozzi made some of the older pupils assist in teaching. He aimed first to win their affection and build up a common love among them, a family spirit which he believed should exist in every educational establishment. "I knew no other order, method or art, but that which resulted naturally from my children's conviction of my love for them, nor did I care to know any other. Thus I subordinated the instruction of my children to a higher aim, which was to arouse and strengthen their best sentiments by the relations of every-day life as they existed

between themselves and me . . . I tried to connect study with manual labor, the school with the workshop, and make one thing of them."[1] His aim was, he said, so to simplify the means of instruction that it should be quite possible for even the most ordinary man to teach his children himself; "thus schools would gradually almost cease to be necessary, so far as the first elements are concerned." Despite the distrust of many and the adverse criticism of those who visited his school, Pestalozzi wrote: "You will hardly believe that it was the Capuchin friars and the nuns of the convent that showed the greatest sympathy with my work. Few people except Truttman took any active interest in it. Those from whom I had hoped most were too deeply engrossed with their high political affairs to think of our little institution as having the least degree of importance."[2] The convent became a military hospital during the same year and the school was abandoned. Pestalozzi retired to the mountains to rest and recuperate, hoping to return and resume the work.

Unable to return to Stanz, Pestalozzi offered his services as a teacher in Burgdorf, in the canton of Berne. After teaching in the elementary schools he was appointed master of the higher school. He eventually succeeded Fischer as head of the training school for teachers in the castle of Burgdorf. With the assistance of his first co-worker, Krüssi, who had already aided him in the management of an elementary school, and other devoted disciples, he made Burgdorf notable for its experiments and success. Teachers from foreign countries came to study his methods. Here Pestalozzi produced in 1801 *How Gertrude Teaches*

[1] *Letter to Gessner.* Cf. De Guimps, 166.
[2] *Ibid.*, De Guimps, 71.

Her Children, an attempt to show mothers how they can teach their children themselves. Then also appeared *The Mother's Book*, *The A B C of Intuition*, *The Intuitive Teaching of Number Relations*, *The Natural Schoolmaster*, and other books on methods. During the disturbed political situation of 1804 the castle was taken over by the town of Burgdorf for municipal purposes, and Pestalozzi was again deprived of his school.

In 1804 he found a new location in a convent at Münchenbuchsee near Bern, and, at the request of his teachers, entrusted the management of the school to his friend Emmanuel Fellenberg, who was then head of an agricultural institution nearby. The arrangement did not work successfully; it proved humiliating to Pestalozzi and he left to open another institution at Yverdun. In a year his former assistants and many of the pupils were glad to rejoin him. Here from 1805 to 1810 he realized greater success than in any of his previous undertakings. The number of pupils and teachers became larger than in Burgdorf. He then really had an efficient staff of co-workers many of whom had been his former pupils, men capable both of applying his methods and of supplying for his inability on the side of administration. The work at Yverdun became that of an institution rather than of an individual man. When the Emperor Frederick William determined to reform elementary education in Prussia, seventeen young men were sent to Yverdun to spend three years in preparation for their work. Saxony was affected through Blochmann, a former pupil of Pestalozzi, and Denmark and Holland also sent students and teachers to Yverdun.

Parents then came from different countries to place their children in the institution. With all these activ-

ities and the daily influx of visitors, the order of work suffered; troubles ensued among the teachers. Finally, Pestalozzi was induced to invite a Government inspection of the institution. The report of the inspectors prepared by Père Girard, a Catholic priest, was unfavorable especially in regard to the practical results discernible in the children's work. Joseph Schmidt, a Catholic, who brought considerable fame to the school as a teacher of arithmetic and author of *Exercises on Numbers*, was implicated in the troubles and in 1810 was obliged to leave. In 1815 the teachers voted to recall him. A strong-willed man, he evidently possessed administrative power, and it is significant that during his absence the management of the school became extremely bad. Although he exercised a great influence over Pestalozzi afterward, he could not hold the teachers together. By 1817 most of the older assistants had left Yverdun. The institution continued until 1825. It represents Pestalozzi's greatest educational undertaking for it embraced elementary and higher, or classical courses, industrial training for boys and girls, and the preparation of teachers. He started one more school for the poor at Clindy by means of funds which were raised by subscription and largely through the efforts of Schmidt. This school was later transferred to Yverdun. Pestalozzi spent the last three years of his life with his grandson at Neuhof where he died in 1827.

It has been seen that Pestalozzi found in education the means he desired for social reform, for the betterment of the poor. In making it a practical means, he endeavored to place it on a scientific basis. "I want to psychologize education," he once said. In all his writings, however, there is no clear statement of the principles of his theory

or method. *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* is the nearest approach to a definite exposition of his teaching plan. It well represents his idea that the teaching process should be made simple and effectual even in the hands of uninstructed parents, especially mothers. One thing always remained clear and that was Pestalozzi's life purpose, namely, to bring education within the reach of all, even the lowest and poorest. The principles and details of his method were the result of a life spent in patient experimentation. Although he disavowed having fixed or absolute modes of procedure, and although he instructed his disciples to continue as he had with experiments and further study of the child, certain fundamental principles became firmly established in his theory. It is to their formulation and application by Pestalozzi and his followers that modern pedagogy owes much of its progress. One of his biographers, Morf, has drawn up the principal ideas of his theory and practice as expounded in *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children.*

They are as follows:

1. Instruction must be based on the learner's own observation or experience ("Anschauung," rendered as "intuition" and also "apperception" by some commentators.)

2. What the learner experiences or observes must be connected with language.

3. The time for learning is not the time for judging, nor the time for criticism.

4. In every department instruction must begin with the simplest elements, and starting from these must be carried on step by step according to the development of the child, that is, it must be brought into psychological sequence.

5. At each point the instructor shall not go forward till that part of the subject has become the proper intellectual possession of the learner.

6. Instruction must follow the path of development, not the path of lecturing, teaching or telling.

7. To the educator the individuality of the child must be sacred.

8. Not the acquisition of knowledge or skill is the main object of elementary instruction, but the development and strengthening of the powers of the mind.

9. With knowledge must come power, with information, skill.

10. Intercourse between teacher and pupil, and school discipline especially, must be based on and controlled by love.

11. Instruction shall be subordinate to the aim of education.

12. The ground of moral religious bringing-up lies in the relation of mother and child.[1]

With this review of Pestalozzi's life and summary of his principles, the following features of his work and theory may be noted. 1. He showed education to be a development. His teacher becomes the director and minister, drawing out in accordance with nature's laws the unfolding powers of the child.

2. Development being from within, the child is to be trained to self-activity, to the exercise and use of his powers. All instruction is based on his experience, or observation, or intuition, that is, on what he already knows, and by such a method as to prepare him for further knowledge.

3. Sense training becomes a necessary condition of his

[1] Cf. Quick, *Educational Reformers*, 368.

proper development. Pestalozzi and his assistants, following Rousseau, elaborated this phase. Sense perception was the starting point in instruction, just as the idea was the end or aim. Things, the objects of sensation, come before words, the concrete before the abstract, not so much for a knowledge of the things themselves as for the training of the child in observation. Ideas or concepts are acquired by a graduated process. From vague sense impressions of an object the mind evolves a value or meaning. From "a swimming sea of sense impressions" some one thing is perceived, a distinct idea. Further and more detailed observation is required to make the idea clear. By analysis and comparison with other objects, its essential qualities become known—the idea is then definite. This progress or development of ideas, Pestalozzi said, is accomplished by Number, Form and Language, that is, by investigating how many kinds of objects appear in consciousness; distinguishing their forms or outlines; and repeating what they are called, by a sound or word.

4. Training must be symmetrical at all stages, *i.e.*, it must be a training of the whole being, moral, intellectual and physical.

5. The spirit of the school is the home spirit, love in the teacher engendering confidence in the pupil.

Pestalozzi's religion has been the subject of much discussion. His Christianity has even been questioned. This is indeed one of the weak points in his system. His faith was severely shaken by Rousseau and while he ever wrote and spoke reverently of God, and of the beliefs of Protestants and Catholics alike, he allowed little positive Christian doctrine to be evident in his writings or school work. One of his pupils has written: "Pestalozzi proved

himself a Christian by his actions, his whole life, his ardent and universal charity; he never attacked any of the Christian dogmas, but neither did he ever make any clear and formal profession of them."[1] In departing from the Calvinism of his early youth, Pestalozzi unfortunately seems to have fallen victim to a naturalism similar to that of the Philanthropinists.

Pestalozzi's failures were due to lack of ability as an administrator; his shortcomings and inconsistencies to dependence upon his own experience, and ignorance of the theories of his predecessors in educational work. Once he declared he had not read a book in thirty years. Nevertheless his influence was greater than that of any other modern educator. It extended over almost all Europe and the United States. It has already been noted that Prussia adopted his system and all Germany was eventually affected. A modified Pestalozzianism was introduced in England, while Joseph Neef opened the first Pestalozzian school in Philadelphia in 1808. Elementary education for all as their natural right was his leading bequest to posterity. The further extension of his influence to philanthropic institutions, to the care of orphans, is also noteworthy. He gave a new meaning to the educative process, that of development, and thereby started the psychological movement of modern times. His theories and methods of experimentation have been the basis and inspiration of later investigators and have influenced special methods in many directions—in adjusting instruction to the needs of the child, in favor of object-teaching, motor-activity and correlation.

[1] De Guimps, 399.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—(Continued)

The Psychologists—(Continued)

Johann Friedrich Herbart, who was to furnish the real psychological basis for Pestalozzi's methods, was born in Oldenburg, Germany, in 1776. His father was a lawyer and his mother a woman of more than ordinary ability. As a boy Herbart displayed unusual talent and an aptitude for philosophy. He began the study of logic at eleven. After completing the course in the gymnasium of his native place he studied philosophy at the University of Jena, coming under the influence of Fichte. Although he spent three years under the Idealistic philosopher, Herbart did not subscribe to his views. As a student he produced some remarkable essays in criticism of the Idealism of Fichte and Schelling, defining even then the basic principles of the system of philosophy he was later to develop.

In 1796, after three years spent in university study, Herbart accepted the office of tutor in the family of the Governor of Interlaken, Switzerland. His charges were three boys, aged eight, ten, and fourteen, and it was through their systematic instruction that he acquired the practical experience upon which was afterward constructed his pedagogical theory. By agreement with the father of the children he wrote bi-monthly reports of their progress. Only five of these, unfortunately, have been preserved, but they suffice to show that the philosophical, humanistic and mathematical studies which he had cultivated in Jena all

contributed to the development of his ideas of method. While minutely observing and experimenting with his pupils Herbart became acquainted with Pestalozzi. He visited the institute at Burgdorf (1799), and was won over to the man and his work. During that same year Herbart left Switzerland for Bremen, and, intending to prepare for a university professorship, resumed his philosophical studies. He spent two years there and produced the essays which inaugurated the scientific formulation of Pestalozzi's ideas, viz., *Pestalozzi's Latest Work 'How Gertrude Teaches Her Children,'* [1] and *Pestalozzi's Idea of an A B C of Observation.*[2] In the latter mathematics receives prominence as a means of training in observation. In 1802 Herbart, then dependent on friends for his support, secured an instructorship in the University of Göttingen. There he received the doctorate and won such success as a teacher of pedagogy and ethics that in 1805 the University of Heidelberg offered him a full professorship in philosophy. This he declined. To the Göttingen period belong *The Moral Revelation of the World as the Chief Function of Education,*[3] in which he demonstrates the moral values to be attached to all phases of the child's training; *Standpoint for Judging Pestalozzi's Method of Instruction;*[4] *Science of Education;*[5] and treatises on metaphysics, logic and practical philosophy.

Herbart's reputation may be gauged by the flattering invitation he received in 1809 to fill the chair of philosophy

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[1] *Pestalozzi's Neueste Schrift: Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt.*
[2] *Pestalozzi's Idee eines A B C der Anschauung.*
[3] *Ueber die ästhetische Darstellung der Welt als Hauptgeschäft der Erziehung* (1804).
[4] *Standpunkt der Beurteilung der Pestalozzischen Unterrichts-Methode* (1804).
[5] *Allgemeine Pädagogik* (1806). English translation by Henry M. and Emmie Felkin. Boston.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—(Continued)

The Psychologists and Other Theorists

Friedrich Wilhelm Froebel, pupil of Pestalozzi and author of another phase of the psychological movement, was born in 1782 at Oberweissbach, a village in Thuringia. His father, a Lutheran minister with a number of village churches under his charge, could scarcely afford to give his children a liberal education. Friedrich after some instruction from his father went first to the girl's division of the village school. At ten his maternal uncle, the pastor of Stadt-Ilm, took him in charge and sent him to the town school. As a boy he displayed no especial talent. When fifteen he was apprenticed to a forester. In the two succeeding years he studied botany and mathematics but mostly in private, for he received little attention from his master. An errand to Jena in 1799 where his brother was a student gave Froebel an opportunity to attend university lectures for part of that year. He returned the following year, but before its close had the unhappy experience of spending nine weeks in the university jail because of an unpaid debt of about twenty-five dollars. After his father's death in 1802 he wandered about Germany in one occupation and another for about four years. At Frankfurt, where he had taken up the study of architecture, he met Grüner, head teacher of the training school, a former pupil of Pestalozzi, who persuaded him to become a teacher. With his first class Froebel felt he had found

his calling and decided to make teaching his life-work. He first met Pestalozzi at Yverdun in 1805. A visit of two weeks which he spent there inspecting the institute made him resolve to return for a longer stay.

Froebel taught in the model school of Frankfurt for two years, applying what he could of Pestalozzi's method in language and arithmetic. He was very successful with geography. In order to have more time for his own mental improvement he gave up school work for tutoring. His pupils, three boys, were given over completely to his charge. In 1808 when much experiment with methods of teaching had convinced him of his limitations as a teacher, he brought his pupils to Yverdun. There, as he said, he remained as "teacher, and scholar, educator and pupil." From close observation of the work and association with Pestalozzi he learned the strength and the weakness of the new system. In the teaching he missed a certain "satisfying of the human being, the essence of the subject." "Pestalozzi's views," he said, "were very universal, and, as experience taught, only awakening to those already grounded in the right."[1]

The better to equip himself for his mission as teacher, Froebel then entered the University of Göttingen. He began with the study of Oriental languages, thinking such would be a necessary basis for his work. Natural science, however, soon supplanted language work. He left Göttingen for Berlin, expecting to find there better opportunities of supporting himself, and became a teacher in a private Pestalozzian school.

Like many other students Froebel served as a volunteer in the war with France. In the same battalion were

[1] Letter to Duke of Meiningen. Cf. *Barnard's Amer. Jour. of Education*, vol. 30, 665.

Langenthal and Middendorff, afterward his associates in educational work. When peace was declared he returned to Berlin and obtained in 1813 the position of assistant in the Museum of Mineralogy.

In 1816 upon the death of his brother, the pastor of Griesheim, Froebel undertook to tutor the latter's three sons and thereby returned to his favorite calling. With five nephews as pupils he opened school in the parish house of Griesheim. Middendorff soon joined him as an assistant. When the pupils increased in number he was obliged to secure a farm at Keilhau where Langenthal also joined him. He succeeded admirably with the school until 1829 when local opposition forced him to leave. While in Keilhau Froebel wrote the *Education of Man*, an exposition of the theory on which the school was conducted.

From 1831 until 1835 Froebel carried on his work in Switzerland, succeeding best in the school of Burgdorf. The pupils there were orphans from four to six years of age, and Froebel engaged to educate them and train teachers at the same time. Upon the death of his wife he returned to Germany and at Blankenburg opened the institution for small children which first received the name "Kindergarten," "Children's Garden." From the educational viewpoint the Blankenburg school was a great success; distinguished visitors frequented it and teachers came to learn of the new methods. As a financial enterprise, however, it failed, and after eight years Froebel was obliged to give it up. Some five years spent in lecturing to mothers and women teachers won him many enthusiastic supporters, and kindergartens were opened in several large cities. Froebel received a severe blow in 1851 when the government of Prussia, apparently con-

founding his views with those of his nephew, the socialist, forbade the establishment of kindergartens because of their socialistic and irreligious tendencies. The founder died the following year, 1852.

Froebel's educational theory rests upon religious concepts. It was profoundly affected by the Idealism of Schelling and Fichte and the Naturalism of Rousseau. Many of his expressions appear to have a tinge of Pantheism. Froebel maintained, however, that in theory and practice he strove for the realization of Christian ideals. The groundwork of his theory of education is the law of Unity which underlies all things. This is universal, eternal. "In all things there lives and reigns an eternal law" manifested to those of faith with equal clearness and distinctness "in nature (the external), in the spirit (the internal), and in life which unites the two." This law is based on eternal Unity, God, Who is the source of all things, for all things live and have their being through Him. It is the destiny and life-work of all things to unfold their essence, hence their divine being, and, therefore, the Divine Unity itself—to reveal God in their external and transient being; and it is the special destiny of man, as an intelligent and rational being, to become fully, vividly, and clearly conscious of his essence, of the divine effluence in him, and, therefore, of God. "Education," says Froebel, "consists in leading man, as a thinking, intelligent being, growing into self consciousness, to a pure and unsullied, conscious and free representation of the inner law of Divine Unity, and in teaching him ways and means thereto."[1]

Education with such a function must be "originally and

[1] *Education of Man*, 2. Translation of W. N. Hailmann. New York, 1906.

in its first principles, passive, following (only guarding and protecting) not prescriptive, categorical, interfering." The operation of the Divine Unity is necessarily good and should not be disturbed. Again he says: "In view of the original soundness and wholeness of man, all arbitrary (active), prescriptive and categorical, interfering education in instruction and training must, of necessity, annihilate, hinder, and destroy." The divine principle demands and requires free self-activity and self-determination on the part of man. Teaching or education becomes active and mandatory when natural development has been marred. The development is furthermore to be continuous, the child manifesting a degree of self-activity proper to his stage of development. "The child, the boy, man, indeed, should know no other endeavor but to be at every stage of development wholly what this stage calls for." His development is then to be at once complete and continuous, not respecting any sharp limits or definite subdivisions between the stages of infancy, boyhood, youth, etc. Activity is furthermore to be productive; first, activity of the senses, as the formative impulse, then through play, building, modeling as a preparation for future industry, diligence, and productive activity.[1] Lessons come through and by work, through and from life. Such learning is much more beneficial and developing than that coming from a verbal exchange of ideas. It is a learning through individual or self-expression.

Froebel wrote of education in the stages of infancy, early childhood, boyhood and youth. Because of the fame of the kindergarten, his theory on the training of early childhood is best known. His views, nevertheless,

[1] *Education of Man*, 34.

on the other stages were not less significant. It will be possible to give but an outline of them here.

Froebel held that the infant's environment should be pure and in every way wholesome in order that its earliest impressions might be the best. Even in infancy the seeds of piety may be planted and chiefly by the example of the parents. The child's learning he described as an absorption, or an endeavor to make internal what it perceives by the senses, the external. Its activity means the use, employment, exercise of the body, senses, etc. Infancy has passed when the child begins to express outwardly what is within him. His expression should be like his perception, correct. He should designate things in their true relations, rightly, distinctly, clearly. Expression commences with speech, and especially in play, which is the highest point of human development in the child-stage, for it is the free expression of the child's inner being. It is the source of all good, according to Froebel, and was methodically used by him in the kindergarten. The instinct to draw was encouraged and directed as a mode of expression, and this really consituted the first formal teaching.

Boyhood Froebel characterizes as the stage of acquisition. Here instruction predominates, just as guidance did in the earlier period, and the purpose is to give firmness of will, "so as to realize and practice genuine humanity." It is presumed that the boy has acquired a good disposition in childhood. His activity at this stage always has an end in view; he anticipates a certain result in his games, and develops individual power. His curiosity and questioning are to be turned to educational purpose. He then, for instance, craves to know the past, how present things originated; he loves tales, etc., and history.

Among other forms of expression he delights especially in singing. Whatever faults he may have acquired are due, says Froebel, to an incomplete or faulty development, to a positive interference by teachers or parents with the natural unfolding of his powers. Like Rousseau he would not attribute them to any original depravity in the child; and many faults he attributed to thoughtlessness.

In the scholar or pupil stage Froebel treats of the school whose office is "to render the scholar fully conscious of the nature and inner life of things and of himself, to teach him to know the inner relations of things to one another, to the human being, to the scholar, and to the living source and conscious unity of all things—to God."[1]

The boy when entering school leaves behind the outward view of things and enters upon an inner or intellectual view. An intelligent consciousness hovers over and between the outer world and the scholar, mediates between the two, and imparts to them mutual understanding. The child's faith and hope in learning are to be heightened by the skilled teacher who rejoices in vivacity and uses it for developing and quickening his power. School subjects are determined by a knowledge of the nature and requirements of the boy's development. The school is to lead the boy to the threefold, yet in itself one, knowledge—"to the knowledge of himself in all his relations, and thus to the knowledge of man as such; to the knowledge of God, . . . and to the knowledge of nature and the outer world."[2] It is in striking conformity with his whole theory that Froebel treats religion as the first subject of the curriculum, and as presenting and pointing out "the ways and means by which the desire to live in true unity

[1] *Education of Man*, 128.
[2] *Ibid.*, 138.

with God may be gratified, and by which this unity, if impaired, may be restored."[1] To live in accordance with this knowledge, is Christian religion, states Froebel. He believed that first of all and above all the school should instruct for and in this religion.

The kindergarten as the concrete embodiment of his ideas on early training is his great bequest to posterity. It represents the best of Froebel's labors. In it self-activity of the kind described above was obtained and directed, and play was organized to meet both the child's play interests and the educative process. The exercises trained the child to correct observation and expression. As Pestalozzi emphasized the former so Froebel laid stress on the latter. His theory demanded it and in practice it was obtained in the form of gesture or bodily movement, song, language, and construction, or graphic representation.

Froebel spent the last fifteen years of his life in perfecting the songs and other materials for the kindergarten.[2] The Gifts consisted of six woolen balls of different colors, the sphere, the cube, and the cylinder. They were used to acquaint the child with various materials, colors, form, and dimensions—the basis of number and mathematical work; the Occupations were the activities in construction with paper, clay, wood and similar materials —the basis of manual training and creative work. Froebel made little, if any, distinction between the gifts and occupations; both were coordinate activities. Since his time, however, the distinction has been marked because of a tendency to extol the occupations over the gifts.

[1] *Ibid.*, 141.

[2] *Mutter- und Kose-Lieder* (*Mother and Play Songs*). Cf. Eliot and Blow. *Mottoes and Commentaries of Friedrich Froebel's Mother Play*. New York, 1896.

The kindergarten now so well known spread quickly over Europe outside of Germany. The Baroness von Bülow, a devoted pupil of Froebel, labored unceasingly for twenty years by pen and voice to further the movement throughout Europe. The first kindergarten in the United States was opened by Mrs. Karl Schurz about 1855 in Watertown, Wisconsin; the earliest for English-speaking children were those established in Boston about 1860 through the efforts of Elizabeth P. Peabody. Maria Bölte who had studied with Froebel's widow in Hamburg inaugurated the movement in New York in 1872. In a few years not only were private kindergartens widely flourishing in the United States, but many cities had adopted the institution as an organic part of their elementary school systems. A notable example was St. Louis, where in 1873, through the efforts of Dr. W. T. Harris and Miss Susan E. Blow, the city undertook the management of twelve kindergartens.

Although Froebel's psychological methods were applied only in the kindergarten, his ideas on self-activity and development, like Pestalozzi's observation and Herbart's interest, have profoundly affected all subsequent educational practices. No successful method to-day disregards them, nor the principle of expression which he elaborated. Froebel's devotion to the idea of development, however, carried him into the naturalism of Rousseau, although he always maintained his adherence to Christian beliefs and ideals. As mentioned before, he did not accept the doctrine of original sin, holding that the child's early faults came from without, by interference with his natural development. He also accepted with Herbart the underlying principle of the culture epoch theory.

Contemporaneously with Froebel an Italian priest had

constructed a theory of education which remarkably resembled that of the German reformer. **Antonio Rosmini-Serbati** (1797–1855), the founder of the Institute of Charity, and one of the deepest thinkers of modern times, was born of noble parents at Rovereto in the Austrian Tyrol. His early education was received in his native city. At the age of twenty he entered the University of Padua where he studied three years. Ordained a priest in 1821, he was the following year made a doctor of theology and canon law by the University of Padua. During the early years of his priesthood he conceived a plan for the reconstruction of philosophy with the aim of making it more than ever before the servant of revealed truth. Pope Pius VII encouraged him in the project.

Rosmini founded in 1823 at Domodossola the Institute of Charity, a religious community whose members are known in Italy as the Rosminians and in England as the Fathers of Charity. That he took a conspicuous part in civil and ecclesiastical affairs is evidenced by his appointment as the envoy of King Charles Albert of Piedmont to the Pope to enlist the latter's support against Austria, and by his nomination by the Pope as Minister of Public Instruction, an office which he declined to accept. Rosmini's most notable achievments were, however, in the field of philosophy and education.[1] Although forty propositions taken from his works were condemned by the Inquisition in 1887, Father Rosmini's piety and religious zeal were never questioned by the Holy See. He was devoted to the education of the young and the members of the Institute which he founded have consistently maintained his spirit in their scholastic activities. Never a

[1] For list of his philosophical works Cf. Davidson, T. *The Philosophical System of Antonio Rosmini-Serbati.* London, 1882.

numerous religious body, they now have colleges and religious houses in Italy, England, and the United States.

Rosmini's chief educational treatise, *The Ruling Principle of Method Applied to Education* (*Del principio supremo della metodica*) is but a fragment of a work intended to embrace five books and to furnish a method for the whole educative process. The two completed books contain, however, the fundamental principles for early training and these so closely resemble Froebel's that we may say with Rosmini's translator "the kindergarten system, worked out by Froebel in entire ignorance of Rosmini, and under conditions of birth, education, circumstances, so widely different, is yet the complete application, to every detail of infant education, of Rosmini's principles, or rather of the principles common to both, because both had arrived at them by the same road—the profound study of human nature."[1] The reformers differ, however, on the nature of the religious knowledge to be acquired by the child.

Rosmini's purpose briefly stated was to find out the ruling or basic principle whence is derived the whole method of teaching. His problem was thus expressed: "How shall we find the sure rule by which the teacher of youth shall know what things he must begin with, and which should follow, so that the child who hears him may be led on, by gradations always duly adapted to his power, from what he knows to what he does not know and has yet to be taught?"[2] The child is to be led by easy gradations and in a manner natural to him, the natural order of development. The general law he discovers is "A thought

[1] Rosmini-Serbati. *Ruling Principle of Method Applied to Education.* Trans. of Grey, viii. Boston, 1893.

[2] *Ruling Principle of Method,* 11.

is that which becomes the matter, or provides the matter of another thought." A second thought cannot possibly arise until the first has arisen and provided the matter needed for it. Hence, the whole sum of thoughts which have or can occur to the human mind may be distributed and classified in divers orders, first, thoughts whose matter is not derived from antecedent thoughts; second, thoughts which take their matter from thoughts of the first order, and from those only; third, thoughts which take their matter from thoughts of the second order, and so on for the various series of orders.

The ruling principle of method he then defines as follows: "Present to the mind of the child (and this applies to man in general), first, the objects which belong to the first order of cognitions; then those which belong to the second order; then those which belong to the third, and so on successively, taking care never to lead the child to a cognition of the second order without having ascertained that his mind has grasped those of the first order relative to it, and the same with regard to cognitions of the third, fourth, and other higher orders." [1]

Rosmini explains the cognitions proper to each order, including in the first, observation, perceptions, association of perceptions, and ideas. He further explains the activities corresponding to each order, following always the principle that the process of teaching is determined by the needs of the growing child. In early childhood he urged mothers to attend to the training of feeling and will rather than of reason. The child should be filled with good-will towards others, an affection which springs up naturally if an atmosphere of joyousness be maintained in its mind.

[1] *Ibid.*, 40.

Language is the stimulus which "impels and helps the human mind to attain cognitions of the second order." It produces reflection on earlier cognitions and enables the child to perceive the relations existing among them and makes classification possible.

Cognitions of the third order are reached through synthetic judgments, and those of the fourth chiefly through analytical judgments. Rosmini's work is a treatise in psychology on these points. His views on activity are noteworthy. "The child at every age must act." He requires that activity which is natural to the child as a means of development and this should be corporal, intellectual and moral. He not only treats of spontaneous activity but attempts to define its laws. In this connection he considers play which he believed could be used in developing intelligence if the teacher knew how to take advantage of it. "It will become in his hands a real and delightful method of instruction."[1]

Rosmini also advocated the use of pictures in teaching. He planned to write a picture book and began one for teaching the alphabet which was to be used in the schools of the Rosminians and the Sisters of Providence. In the *Ruling Principle of Method* he indicates the matter of instruction and especially for moral and religious training. His influence as an educator has been chiefly confined to Italy, and the schools conducted elsewhere by the Institute of Charity, and the Daughters of Charity, or Sisters of Providence. It promises to be more extensive with the wider dissemination of his views.

Rosmini sought a fundamental principle of method for all teaching. Just before his time, **Joseph Jacotot** (1770–1840), a French educator, had wrestled with the problem

[1] *Ibid.*, 197.

of method and attained some success. Jacotot began his teaching career at the age of nineteen as professor of classical literature in the college of Dijon, his native place. He successively taught "the method of sciences," ancient languages, mathematics and Roman law. As a professor he attracted wide and favorable attention. Obliged for political reasons to leave France, he became in 1818 professor of French language and literature at the University of Louvain.

Jacotot's first students knew no French and it was his attempt to enable them to learn the language quickly that resulted in his famous method. He furnished the students with copies of Fénelon's *Télémaque*, having both the French text and Dutch translation. They were required to memorize some French sentences daily, but only after having compared them with the Dutch and grasped their full meaning. They learned French chiefly by their own efforts, and the success of the method seems undeniable. Jacotot was encouraged to formulate the principles on a larger scale, as the basis of a universal method for the acquisition of all knowledge. He returned later to France and devoted himself to writing and furthering his plans for the intellectual emancipation of humanity.

The principles and axioms of Jacotot's method were set forth in paradoxical form in his work *L'Enseignement Universel.* (Louvain, 1822.) Those which best represent his theory and contain the basic elements of his method were the following: "All men are equally capable of learning," a fallacy even greater than the next which was apparently based on his own experience, viz., "Everyone can teach; and moreover, can teach what he himself does not know," and as a corollary, "Everyone can be his own instructor." Perhaps the most famous of the paradoxes

was "All is in all" ("Tout est dans tout"), the implication being that all knowledge is so related or connected that to know one thing well is to have the starting point or means of connection with all. He prescribed in consequence that the student should know something thoroughly and refer everything to that. The student of language undertook first to master a model book. Jacotot prescribed Fénelon's *Télémaque* and while he insisted on the memorizing of six books, this was not mere verbal memorizing. The student was required to show that he understood everything committed to memory and that he grasped the spirit of the author. This involved constant repetition so that he would forget nothing. "We are learned," said he, "not so far as we have learned, but only so far as we remember."[1]

Jacotot's influence was never great in France. He found more adherents and admirers in Germany; and also among English writers. While his axioms are paradoxical and will not stand analysis, and his methods mechanical, unduly burdening the memory, he asserted the principle of thoroughness in learning, touched upon correlation and coordination of all knowledge; and his exercises in comparison and verification excited interest and individual application.

Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), the English philosopher and the apostle of Agnosticism, entered the educational field in a controversial spirit with his essay *What Knowledge is of Most Worth?* In this and three succeeding essays on intellectual, moral and physical education he championed the cause of scientific studies for a place in the modern curriculum. These essays were afterward published in book form with the title, *Education*. (New

[1] Quoted by Quick, *Educational Reformers*, 429.

York, 1861.) Spencer attacked the question of the relative values of the studies of his time and vigorously opposed the preeminence enjoyed by the humanities.

Spencer defined education as a preparation for complete living. "Before there can be a rational curriculum," he said, "we must settle which things it most concerns us to know; or, to use a word of Bacon's, now unfortunately obsolete—we must determine the relative values of knowledges."[1] To this end he made utility the measure of values, that is, the practical bearing of the subject upon some phase of life.

"How to live?—that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in the mere material sense only, but in the widest sense. The general problem which comprehends every special problem is—the right ruling of conduct in all directions under all circumstances . . . how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others—how to live completely. And this being the great thing needful for us to learn, is, by consequence, the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course is, to judge in what degree it discharges such function."[2]

Complete living is the end to be achieved. The subjects and methods of instruction are to be chosen with deliberate reference to this end. Their selection is to be determined not by the fashion of the time, nor the opinion of a parent, but by their respective values in relation to the end in view. He classified in the order of their importance the chief activities of life as follows:

[1] *Education*, 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, 31.

1. Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation; 2. those activities which, by securing the necessaries of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation; 3. those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring; 4. those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations; 5. those miscellaneous activities which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings.[1] The educational values are similarly estimated, so that, according to Spencer, "the rational order of subordination is: 1. that education which prepares for direct self-preservation; 2. that which prepares for indirect self-preservation; 3. that which prepares for parenthood; 4. that which prepares for citizenship; 5. that which prepares for the miscellaneous refinements of life. The ideal of education is complete preparation in all these divisions, but since this is humanly impossible the aim should be to maintain a due proportion between the degrees of preparation in each, giving attention to all, the greatest attention where "the value is greatest, less where the value is less, least where the value is least."

Upon examination Spencer finds that the scientific studies are fundamental and of most worth as a preparation for the chief activities: for direct self-preservation, or the maintenance of life and health; for that indirect self-preservation which we call gaining a livelihood; for the due discharge of parental functions; for that interpretation of rational life, past and present, without which the citizen cannot regulate his conduct; for the most perfect production and highest enjoyment of art in all its forms; and for the purposes of discipline, intellectual,

[1] *Education*, 32.

moral, religious. In the essays on intellectual, moral and physical education he aimed at reforming the curricula and methods of the schools. On intellectual training he upheld many principles of the psychologists, as for instance, the cultivation of the powers of observation, object teaching, learning through self-instruction and in a pleasurable manner; on moral training, while not touching the religious, he also shared views with Rousseau in advocating that the child should learn naturally, from the natural consequences of his acts, and in opposing artificial punishments; on physical training, he differed from Locke in not approving of the hardening process since many children were "hardened" out of the world. He believed that the regimen of the nursery and the school should conform to the established truths of modern science. "It is time that the benefits which our sheep and oxen have for years past derived from the investigations of the laboratory, should be participated in by our children."[1] In this spirit he treated diet, exercise, clothing and the excellence of health.

Spencer's views were widely read in English-speaking countries, and it is believed they helped to secure for the sciences their present position in the modern curriculum. Many could not stand critical analysis, and like those of Herbart failed of wide acceptance. The philosopher's evolutionary, utilitarian, and agnostic theories were not absent from his educational writings.

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CHAPTER XXIX

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SCHOOL SYSTEMS

The nineteenth century, so productive of educational theories and reforms, was also the period of the greatest development of state systems of education. Pestalozzianism and the psychological movement generally had awakened widespread interest in universal education. Individual philanthropists and charitable societies undertook to meet the educational needs of the poor; the Church, wherever free to do so, enlisted the services of her teaching organizations some of whom were especially devoted to gratuitous instruction. State activity in regard to schools began in different ways; and while the rise of state systems was due to a variety of causes, some very notable factors were the passage of compulsory attendance laws, the regulation of teachers' requirements, government grants, and the legal separation of Church and State.

Germany

The earliest and most effective of modern state systems of education is that of Germany. The individual states of the empire are independent in domestic affairs and there is no uniformity in their school systems. Prussia, the largest of the states, has been more or less the model of others, but its system in whole or in part has never been adopted by other states without specific modifications.

Although compulsory education laws were passed in some of the Thuringian states in the seventeenth century,

the beginnings of general and compulsory education in Prussia date from the reign of Frederick William I (1713–1740). The friend and patron of Francke, he made school attendance obligatory by the rescripts issued in 1716 and 1717 and encouraged the better preparation of teachers. His successor, Frederick the Great (1740–1786), promulgated General School Regulations in 1763 in which it was stipulated that compulsory school attendance should begin at the latest with the fifth and last until the fourteenth year. Parents were subject to fine for an infringement of the law. The Regulations made provision for the support of schools through systematic taxation, for the compensation of teachers and for supervision by the local and state authorities.

Like his father, Frederick is supposed to have raised the standard for the preparation of teachers, but it is well known that he ordered superannuated soldiers to be appointed schoolmasters. As Paulsen says, "No professional education for teachers in the proper sense was yet in existence. Normal schools or training colleges (Lehrer-Seminare) were only just appearing here and there above the horizon; the Prussian orphanages founded at Königsberg, Züllichau, Stettin, etc., after the model of Halle, and later on, Hecker's 'Realschule' offered facilities of this kind within small limits." [1] The first real normal school was not opened until 1778 at Halberstadt. Efficient ministers had, however, been appointed and centralization begun. A central administration board was formed in 1787 through the efforts of Baron von Zedlitz, minister of public instruction under Frederick the Great. Through this and subsequent legislation (1794) the State obtained full power over all schools. In the nineteenth century, the

[1] *German Education*, 140. New York, 1908.

era of the development of the primary school as a state institution, Prussia led the way, as Paulsen says, "for better or for worse in the domain of education."[1] Under Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) the educational ministry was organized and national education took the direction which it has maintained with few variations throughout the century. The University of Berlin, founded in 1810 largely through his efforts and representing a new ideal in higher education, namely, the furtherance of the sciences by original research, affected the other universities either newly founded or reorganized. All of the German universities, twenty-two in number, are now exclusively state institutions.

The secondary school first in vogue was the Gymnasium, or classical school, whose curriculum showed the effect of the new humanistic movement of the early nineteenth century. In opposition to this purely classical school there arose the semi-classical or Real Gymnasium adapted to modern requirements in respect to the study of the vernacular and science. Then later appeared the Realschule, or non-classical school, in which modern languages, mathematics and natural sciences constituted the curriculum. At present three forms of secondary schools each having a nine-year course are recognized, the Gymnasium, or classical school, where all scholars are taught Latin and Greek; the Real-Gymnasium, or semi-classical school, where Latin is taught to all but not Greek; and the Ober-Realschule, or highest grade non-classical or modern school, where only modern subjects are taught.[2]

The elementary school, Volksschule (national school), cares for the children during the period of compulsory

[1] *Ibid.*, 181.
[2] Paulsen, *German Education*, xii, 210.

attendance, from the age of five to fourteen. Its efficiency is perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that the teachers who are all professionally trained, and duly certificated by the State, hold permanent positions. The school year usually extends over two hundred and thirty or two hundred and forty working days, and the number of weekly hours in the higher classes runs as high as thirty. The volksschule does not prepare for the secondary school except in as far as its first three classes are concerned, for the student intending to enter a secondary school must leave when he has attained the age of nine. The Vorschule is a preparatory school for the Gymnasium.

The Mittelschule in Prussia and a few other northern states is an advanced elementary school. Since 1910 its courses have prepared for the secondary schools. Continuation schools affording general elementary and industrial training for working children supplement the elementary schools. They do not always form part of the public systems but where they do, attendance is also compulsory up to seventeen and eighteen years of age. Prominent features of the German system are the centralization of power in the states; efficient administration which is generally assured by the appointment of duly qualified officials; and regular instruction in religion in the secondary and lower schools.

France

While the national school system of France is of very recent origin it should not be concluded that popular education in that country dates from its inception. That educational institutions were numerous in the Middle Ages, and especially before the French Revolution, and that they were adequate to the needs of the time, has been

well substantiated by modern historical research. The work of Père Allain, *L'Instruction primaire en France avant la Révolution* (Paris, 1881), offers abundant testimony to the generous provision made by Church and municipality for elementary instruction. His work is but one of many similar studies undertaken for the various provinces and dioceses of France. Reference has already been made to some of them in connection with the later medieval schools.[1]

The present national system owes much by way of precedent to the Revolution which by its frenzied attacks upon the properties of the Church may be said to have begun the modern programme of secularization. The Constitutional Convention of 1793 dissolved the existing educational system including the historic University of Paris, the colleges and secondary schools. Its measures of reform, however expressive of the good-will of the legislators, were not carried into effect. Napoleon I in his scheme of organization compressed all of the higher institutions, the universities, lycées and colleges, into one corporate body called the University of France. He did not attempt to organize elementary education.

The Loi Guizot (Guizot's law) of 1833, passed during the reign of Louis Philippe and providing a school for each commune, is regarded as the first general and effective step ever taken towards the realization of a state system. Elementary education did not become compulsory until 1882.

The policy of the Third Republic, ostensibly one of secularization, has actually been anti-religious and especially anti-Catholic. During its régime religion has been gradually eliminated from the curriculum, text-

[1] See pages 155-157.

books and all instruction; the religious orders and congregations, the devoted teachers of France for centuries, have been expelled from the schools by a series of laws which began in 1886 and culminated in 1904 when "the teaching of every grade and every kind" was forbidden in France to religious congregations.

The elementary schools supply instruction during the compulsory attendance period, from six to thirteen. The law of attendance is not strictly observed and children may leave at eleven or twelve. Higher primary schools are provided to supplement the work of the lower with courses more advanced in mathematics, bookkeeping, literature, also manual and industrial training. There are in addition to the elementary schools the écoles maternelles, or mother schools, for children from two to six years of age; and the classes enfantines or infant classes, which are intermediate between the écoles maternelles and the elementary schools.

Secondary instruction may be obtained in the lycées or colleges. These may be entered upon the completion of the elementary course in the primary schools, but usually they have their own primary classes. The pupil entering at ten or eleven would complete his course in about seven years. The lycée is a national school, located usually in the capital of a department, whereas the college is communal and is maintained by the municipality and the State. The requirements for teachers in the lycées are more exacting than for those in the colleges.

When Napoleon I organized the University of France he divided the country into twenty-seven academies, each to have a faculty of letters and science. Other authorized faculties were medicine, law and theology. The government, however, granted scanty support to

these faculties. Their professors were chiefly taken from the neighboring lycées, and although degrees were conferred few faculties had the standing of universities. The law of 1896 revived the universities; fifteen at present exist but all do not possess complete faculites. Catholics have maintained well-known faculties of theology, law, medicine, letters and the sciences, at Paris, Marseilles, Angers, Lille, Lyons and other large cities.

The French system differs from the German in that it is national. The supreme head is the Minister of Public Instruction who is assisted by three directors for the primary, secondary and higher branches of education. The country is divided into seventeen academies, and over each is placed a rector charged with the administration of that division. The State therefore exercises a direct influence in all departments of instruction, and this is especially seen in the appointment of supervising inspectors and the conditions laid down for the approval of teachers in state and private schools.

Spain

Spain with a long and creditable record in the history of education does not possess as centralized a system of education as France or Germany. The national government has left more control to local authorities. While schools are numerous, both public and private, the percentage of attendance is not high because the compulsory attendance law is not everywhere enforced. It should be noted, for an understanding of present conditions in Spain, that there are few really large cities; the population is mostly rural, and the nation in comparison to former times is poor.

The law which regulated educational conditions until very recent years was that of 1857. It centralized authority in a general director, appointed by the King, an advisory council, and a corps of inspectors; it recognized, however, the provincial and local authorities and also the teaching orders; it made attendance compulsory from six to twelve years of age; and permitted parents to elect to send their children to the public or private schools.

As the public schools are inadequate the local authorities have recognized many private schools and supported them from the public funds. It has been estimated that two-thirds of the population of school age attend the private or religious schools. The percentage of illiterates among the Spaniards has been and is yet very much exaggerated. The statistics of 1860 are often cited to indicate their number at seventy-five per cent. of the population. In 1900 with what figures were available it was estimated that they numbered 30 per cent. and these illiterates were for the most part persons from maturity to old age.[1]

Secondary education as provided in the Institutos, or national schools, and the colleges, is in a promising condition. The Institutos are the national day schools; the colleges are boarding and day schools, supported largely by the local or municipal governments. The religious orders, Jesuits, Piarists, Augustinians, Dominicans, Brothers of the Christian Schools and Marist Brothers, maintain boarding and day colleges and higher institutions. The secondary schools prepare for university instruction; many of them give technical and commercial

[1] Shipman, A. J. *Spain of Today.* Catholic World, vol. xci, 809. (September, 1910.)

courses. The higher education of girls is supplied in large measure by the religious congregations of women.

Spain now has ten state universities many of which like Salamanca and Valencia date their origin in the Middle Ages. The Jesuits and Augustinians conduct two independent universities at Deusto (Bilboa) and Escorial. In all public primary schools instruction in religion is required, and while freedom of teaching in the higher schools is legally guaranteed it has not always been granted. Many of the religious orders have been denied it and repeatedly expelled.

England

Elementary education in England until very recent times came almost entirely under the control of ecclesiastical or local authorities, and charitable societies, rather than under the general government. The relation of the national government to the schools in the eighteenth century consisted chiefly in the granting of state funds for their erection and support wherever they were not otherwise provided for. Through the National Society representing the Anglican church and the British and Foreign Society, also Protestant, grants were made in behalf of elementary education as early as 1833. In 1847 Catholic elementary schools shared in the government grant through the Catholic Poor School Committee, an organization which still survives as the Catholic Education Council.

The British and Foreign Society and the National Society are of interest as the two organizations which fostered and perpetuated the monitorial system of Lancaster (1778–1838) and Bell (1753–1832). The former

society espoused Lancaster's cause when he was engaged in conducting a school for the poor in London, and like Lancaster, who was a Quaker, it opposed dogmatic religious instruction. The latter society, whose full title was "The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church," represented the Anglican Church, and adopted the monitorial method as introduced by Andrew Bell, who as an army chaplain had seen it in use in the schools of India. The system, worked out independently by Lancaster and Bell, consisted in the employment of older pupils as monitors in instructing the younger who were arranged in groups or classes. It enabled one teacher to supervise the work of a large school.

The basic law for the direction of education in England was that of 1870, the Foster Act, which provided among other things for the legal establishment of local or town boards as the governing bodies of schools, and for compulsory attendance at the option of the local government. It recognized the voluntary or denominational schools and entitled them to share in the state funds, reserving the right of governmental inspection.

Compulsory attendance laws became generally effective in 1876 and 1880; their enforcement, however, depended on the local authorities. Child labor laws did much towards establishing compulsory attendance; the act of 1893 made eleven years the minimum age for exemption from school attendance and that of 1899 raised the minimum from eleven to twelve years. In 1899 the creation of the Central Board of Education in place of the former Council on Education and other bodies then having jurisdiction over certain departments of education, re-

sulted in a more unified system for the administration of state funds.

The Education Act of 1902 abolished local school boards and invested the county or borough council with jurisdiction over the schools. An exception was made in the case of large cities. This Act admitted the voluntary schools to a share in the local rates as well as in the state grants. They were to equip and maintain their own buildings and be subject to inspection by the school managers. In 1908-09 the average attendance in voluntary schools was 2,306,500 and in the board or council schools, 3,038,204.

A higher elementary school having a three years' course supplements the lower school, but this institution as distinct from the lower has not developed rapidly. Only in recent years has secondary education been so articulated with the elementary as to meet the needs of the middle or poor classes of children. The older grammar schools, endowed institutions such as Winchester, Eton, Shrewsbury, Rugby are boarding schools attended by the wealthy. Proprietary schools have come into being to meet this demand. They offer in addition to the classical courses those studies which prepare for scientific and commercial careers. Catholics have many famous secondary schools and colleges some of which, like Stonyhurst, can trace their origin back to penal times. A certain standard in secondary education has been effected by university and governmental examining bodies.

The older universities, Oxford and Cambridge, now divide the patronage for advanced studies with younger institutions of university grade which are located in large manufacturing cities, *e.g.*, Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, London and Sheffield. These

institutions, however, do their most extensive work in the technical and scientific field. Their development has been furthered by grants from Parliament since 1889.

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CHAPTER XXX

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SCHOOL SYSTEMS—(Continued)

The United States

With the exception of the mission schools for Indians, the early schools of the New World were modeled after those of the European countries from which the first settlers came. The mission schools as established by the Spanish Franciscans in Florida and New Mexico were in existence in 1629, "four years before the establishment of the oldest school in the thirteen eastern colonies." [1] They were, consequently, in the order of their foundation, the first elementary schools in the present territory of the United States. The most common characteristic of the schools in the different colonies was their relation to the church of the colony. In Protestant settlements like New Netherlands, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania the teacher was connected by custom or agreement with the church, and in the Catholic settlements of the Spaniards and French, priests were teachers.

In the colonial period may be distinguished certain general types to which the schools of all the colonies as a rule conformed. The oldest of the colonies, Virginia, for example, resembled the mother country in her indifference to elementary education. The planters could employ

[1] Burns, *The Catholic School System in the United States*, 39. New York, 1908. Cf. Report of United States Commissioner of Education, 1903, i, 555.

private teachers or send their children abroad, and the poor in consequence suffered. The government's first concern there was in behalf of Latin or secondary schools. The College of William and Mary, founded in 1692, was well endowed before any systematic education of the poor outside of trades was provided. When schools were subsidized or permitted by the State they were characterized as "poor" schools and not well attended even by the poor. Maryland reproduced in like manner many of the customs of England. It is pleasant to note in this connection that the Jesuits who accompanied the early settlers established the first Catholic school in the English-speaking colonies in 1640 at Newtown with Ralph Crouch, a former novice, as schoolmaster.

Church schools characterized the first educational endeavors of the Dutch colony in New York and the Quakers in Pennsylvania. The schoolmaster in New York resembled the parish clerk of the Old World having duties to perform in the church as well as in the school. The various Protestant sects and the Catholics in Pennsylvania followed the plan of erecting parish schools. The Quakers opened a secondary school in Philadelphia in 1711.

The type represented by Massachusetts is that from which it is believed the modern common school takes its origin. It, too, in the beginning was a church or demoninational school, for Church and State were then united in a common purpose. The distinguishing and important feature of this type is that in 1642 and 1647 its establishment and support became a matter of law. In the latter year every township of fifty householders was required to "appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to read and write," and where any town should increase the number of householders or

families to one hundred, "they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth . . . for the university." While in the beginning, just as in England, the school was supported by voluntary contributions, there gradually developed a system of assessment and in the first quarter of the eighteenth century the school was or could be supported by public funds. In the early years of statehood, divisions of each town were permitted to have their own school, district school, and a system began which, allowing great autonomy to the district, brought with it serious drawbacks to the development of efficient schools. New Hampshire, Maine and Connecticut followed generally the same lines of development.

In New York, after the English occupation, little was done for the organization of elementary education. In 1787 the University of the State of New York or Board of Regents was legally declared, but it was not until the early part of the nineteenth century that the basis of a state system was laid with the appointment (1812) of a state superintendent and the distribution of funds for the partial support of elementary schools. School societies and the churches were then maintaining schools with the assistance of occasional grants from the State.

In all the States established after the adoption of the constitution, the Federal government by a wise provision reserved the equivalent of two townships, and one section in every township to be used as an educational endowment.

The period of the most rapid and extensive development of State systems is marked by the activities of **Horace Mann** (1796–1859), who as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education brought the

more or less scattered educational forces of the State into a system. Mann was a lawyer and he held the office for twelve years. Through his trips of inspection, counsel to town committees, organization of teachers' institutes, lectures, annual reports and especially the organization of State normal schools, he improved educational conditions and raised the standard of instruction, not, however, without encountering opposition from many quarters. He antagonized the religious bodies by eliminating religious instruction. By his writings he acquainted Massachusetts and, of course, a wider field with European systems and methods, particularly the Pestalozzian, which he had personally investigated.

From the literary viewpoint **Henry Barnard** (1811–1900), Secretary of the Connecticut Board of Education and afterward the first United States Commissioner of Education, wielded a still wider influence. Besides notable reports as Secretary in Connecticut and later in Rhode Island, he published the *Connecticut Common School Journal* and the *Rhode Island School Journal*, and as Superintendent in Connecticut (1855) that great collection of historical and biographical material, *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, one of the most valuable educational works in the English language. He became United States Commissioner of Education in 1867, and organized the Bureau of Education to be an office of information and helpfulness to the schools of the country.

The influence of Mann and Barnard might be especially seen in the appointment of superintendents by various States, greater centralization of school administration, the further establishment of normal schools and the rise of an educational literature. Perhaps, too, the substitution of town high schools for the private academies or

grammar schools may be attributed as much to Mann's influence as to any other cause.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century secondary schools, or academies, as they were called, were founded by the churches and individuals. They usually gave the classical course of the Latin grammar school. When these schools were taken over by the towns, or founded by them, and known as high schools, the modern subjects and science received more attention. During the second half of the nineteenth century they developed rapidly and now form an integral part of public school systems.

Higher education was first provided by the colleges, and these, like Harvard (1636) and Yale (1700), were the foundations of religious bodies. Although often maintained through the united action of Church and State, they were not State institutions. Before the Revolution all were conducted for religious purposes. Their organization and curriculum were chiefly determined by the standards of the English colleges. Many were engaged in graduate and professional work before assuming the title of universities. State universities have had their greatest expansion since the middle of the nineteenth century. They are now to be found in all except nine States. Denominational colleges and universities have also continued to flourish; many, however, of the so-called universities, owing to the confused notion of the scope of a college or university, do little advanced or graduate work; their courses should be more strictly classified as collegiate. Because there is no generally accepted line of demarcation between university and college it is impossible to designate the number of American universities. The Association of American Universities "composed of institutions on the North American continent engaged in

giving advanced or graduate instruction" included twenty-three institutions in 1914, of which eleven were State universities.

Education is administered in the United States by the individual States and not by the Federal government. In this it resembles the German system. The free elementary schools with courses of eight years care for the period at which attendance is compulsory—until the age of fourteen; the high school course of four years supplements the elementary and prepares for college entrance. Higher instruction may then be obtained in many of the States in universities which are owned and controlled by the commonwealth.

The failure of the State to provide religious instruction and training in the elementary and secondary schools explains the establishment of independent systems and private institutions, which are supported by religious bodies or by endowments. The Catholic school system, the largest and most extensive of all, had its origin in colonial times. The growth of its elementary schools has been commensurate with that of the Church itself. Dr. Burns, the historian of the Catholic school system, says of this period:

"As a matter of fact, the foundation of the Catholic parish-school system in the United States dates from the early years of the Maryland colony. It represents, therefore, a development covering a period of over 250 years. Broadly speaking, we can distinguish two great periods in its development—the first, extending down to the time of the Revolution, and the second, from that epoch-making event to our own day. The salient feature of its growth throughout the whole time is its dependence upon the growth of the Church in general. A direct relation existed between the development of the Church and the development of Catholic schools. We can see the proof of the existence of this relation during the first period in the

fact that wherever Catholic settlements are formed and Catholic life reached any degree of maturity Catholic schools were set up and a corresponding educational development took place. In settlements where Catholic life was weak or short-lived, either no schools were established, or those that were had only a short or desultory existence. In the post-Revolutionary period the relation is even more clearly illustrated."[1]

In the early days of the Republic they were opened as free schools in large cities like Baltimore and New York wherever the parish funds allowed.

The bishops discussed the parish school in the First Synod of Baltimore, in 1791, and in the First Provincial Council of Baltimore, in 1829, they decreed as follows: "Since it is evident that very many of the young, the children of Catholic parents, especially the poor, have been exposed and are still exposed, in many places of this province, to great danger of the loss of faith or the corruption of morals, on account of the lack of such teachers as could safely be intrusted with so great an office, we judge it absolutely necessary that schools should be established in which the young may be taught the principles of faith and morality while being instructed in letters."[2]

For a struggling Catholic population it was a tremendous problem to provide schools as well as churches, and one of the chief difficulties was to obtain Catholic teachers. The introduction of the teaching orders met this demand, and during the immigration period when thousands of Catholics came to America from Europe, Ireland and Germany especially, the Sisters and Broth-

[1] Burns, *The Catholic School System in the United States*, 14. New York, 1908.

[2] Decretum 33. Cf. *Conciliorum Provincialium et Plenarii Baltimorensium Decreta.* Baltimore, 1853.

ers were engaged for the work of the elementary schools. At the time of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, in 1853, despite the difficulty of obtaining all the teachers necessary, the bishops were exhorted by the council as follows: "We exhort the bishops, and in view of the grave evils which usually result from the defective education of youth, we beseech them through the bowels of the mercy of God to see that schools be established in connection with all of the churches of their dioceses; and, if it be necessary and circumstances permit, to provide from the revenues of the Church to which the school is attached, for the support of competent teachers."[1]

In the Second Provincial Council of Cincinnati, held in 1858 (the province of Cincinnati extended at that time from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi), it was decreed: "It is the judgment of the Fathers that all pastors are bound, under pain of mortal sin, to provide a Catholic school in every parish or congregation subject to them, where this can be done; and in order that each Ordinary may know what are the parishes in which the obligation exists, they decree that the Tridentine Law, s. xxii, c. ix, is to be practically enforced, by which the rectors of churches are required each year to render an exact account to their Ordinaries of all the revenues accruing to their churches in any way, which they therefore strictly enjoin as to be observed by the aforesaid rectors."[2]

In 1875 the Congregation of the Propaganda, then in charge of American affairs, issued an "Instruction to the Bishops of the United States concerning the Public Schools," in which the Catholics, both for their own sake

[1] *Decreta Conc. Prov. et Plen. Balt.*, n. 13, p. 47. Burns, *Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States*, 184.

[2] *Conciliorum Provincialium Cincinnatensium Acta et Decreta.* Decretum vi. New York, 1886.

and the vital interests of the American Republic, were directed to establish their own schools. The Instruction read: "All are agreed that there is nothing so needed to this end as the establishment of Catholic schools in every place—and schools in no way inferior to the public ones. Every effort, then, must be directed toward starting Catholic schools where they are not, and, where they are, toward enlarging them and providing them with better accommodations and equipment until they have nothing to suffer, as regards teachers or equipment, by comparison with the public schools."[1]

The next important ecclesiastical law for this country was promulgated by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1884, which has been the directing force during the period of the greatest development of the parish schools. Therein Catholic parents were not only exhorted to send their children to Catholic schools, but commanded to do so. "Therefore we not only exhort Catholic parents with paternal love, but we also command them with all of the authority in our power, to procure for their beloved offspring, given to them by God, reborn in Christ in baptism, and destined for heaven, a truly Christian and Catholic education, and to defend and safeguard them from the dangers of an education merely secular during the entire period of childhood and youth; and therefore to send them to parish schools or others truly Catholic, unless perchance the Ordinary, in a particular case, should judge that it might be permitted otherwise."

Due allowance was made for those parents who for a sufficient cause did not send their children to the parish schools. A decree of far-reaching importance was the

[1] *Con. Plen. Balt. III, Acta et Decreta*, 279. Appendix. Baltimore, 1886.

following: "Near each church, where it does not yet exist, a parish school is to be erected within two years from the promulgation of this council, and is to be maintained 'in perpetuum,' unless the bishop, on account of grave difficulties, judge that a postponement be allowed. . . . All Catholic parents are bound to send their children to the parish schools, unless either at home or in other Catholic schools they may sufficiently provide for the Christian education of their children, or unless it be lawful to send them to other schools on account of a sufficient cause, approved by the bishop, and with opportune cautions and remedies. As to what is a Catholic school, it is left to the judgment of the Ordinary to define."[1]

This council, furthermore, by its decrees touching upon the supervision of the schools by the pastor, the training of teachers in the normal schools of their novitiates, the certification of teachers, both religious and secular, laid the foundation for that development in organization and administration which in the past twenty-five years has been remarkable.

The parish or elementary schools are organized in diocesan systems. Their administration is usually confided to a school board consisting of priests of the diocese appointed by the bishop, and of which the bishop and his vicar-general are often ex-officio members. In the ninety-nine dioceses of the United States (including Alaska) fifty-eight had school boards in 1912–13. The chief officers of supervision are diocesan superintendents or supervisors of schools, the school visitors or examiners, and the community inspectors. The parish schools numbered in 1913–14, 5,403, and their pupils, 1,429,859.

Secondary schools, embracing parish high schools,

[1] *Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii, Acta et Decreta*, 196, 199.

academies, and preparatory schools, conducted usually by members of the teaching orders, flourish throughout the country. The academies for girls reached the number of 680, and the colleges for boys 230, in 1913–14. A significant advance in higher education began with the establishment in 1889 of the Catholic University of America at Washington. Inaugurated as a graduate school in theology, it now includes Schools of Law, Letters, Science and Philosophy and through its affiliated institutions extends its influence throughout the country.

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SUMMARY OF MODERN EDUCATION

The first reaction from humanism retained the humanistic content of instruction, and its representatives, Rabelais, Montaigne, and Mulcaster, were known as Humanistic Realists. They sought to counteract the extreme tendencies of the Renaissance and in education aimed at a practical preparation for public life. They were followed by the Sense Realists who found in nature and the objective order both the content and method of instruction. The natural method of Bacon was to become with Ratke and Comenius the method of teaching. More practical results were derived from the theories of later innovators, Locke in England and Fénelon in France.

In the seventeenth century the religious organizations, Oratorians, Port-Royalists, Brothers of the Christian Schools and the Pietists were especially active. The work of the Brothers in France and the Pietists in Germany, particularly in regard to elementary schools and the training of teachers, deserves special attention. There were also many religious communities engaged in the education of women.

The eighteenth century saw the rise of naturalism owing to the spread of Rousseau's theories in France and those of the Philanthropinists in Germany. Catholics presented a strong counteracting influence. A notable ecclesiastic of the century was Felbiger. That the psychological movement of the nineteenth century owed something to the naturalistic movement which preceded it was seen in Pestalozzi, its first exponent. Herbart defined the principles of modern educational psychology and gave the world the doctrine of interest and apperception. Froebel organized the kindergarten as the embodiment of his psychological theories and as the especial means of developing spontaneous activity. Father Rosmini contributed noteworthy views on method and Jacotot labored conspicuously in the same field. Herbert Spencer presented an important plea in behalf of scientific studies.

The nineteenth century witnessed the greatest development of modern systems of education, especially in Germany, France, England, Spain and the United States.

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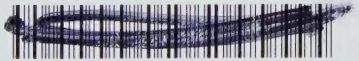
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